



A SCHOOL WITH ONE BOOK

H R Ferger

VILLAGE SCHOOLS IN INDIA

An Investigation with Suggestions

BY

MASON OLCOTT, PH.D.

VILLAGE SCHOOL DEPARTMENT, ARCOT ASSEMBLY

FOREWORD BY

DANIEL JOHNSON FLEMING, PH.D.

SECRETARY, COMMISSION ON VILLAGE EDUCATION IN INDIA, 1919-20

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FOREWORD

To discover the kind of education needed in the villages of India and to plan for the preparation of teachers who will take a worthy place in this vital work, is an educational task of the first magnitude. In recent years, attention has been drawn to the unsatisfactory character of most of the rural schools; the baffling elements of the problem are now more clearly understood. Moreover, on account of the momentous and critical times through which India is passing, the urgency of making village schools educate children effectively for life and citizenship, is commonly recognized. Thus, all who are in any way interested in bettering Indian village education will welcome this study, and must realize that a significant and stimulating contribution has here been made to India's greatest and hardest educational problem.

The author has had exceptional training for this task. After a year and a half of experience with Indian education as vice-principal of Voorhees College, Vellore, he spent some time in agricultural study in America. He later accompanied the Fraser Commission on Village Education during their investigations in America, the Philippines, Japan, and India, as assistant to the secretary. With the first-hand knowledge gained from that careful survey of all parts of India, he spent three years in Teachers College, New York, bringing the resources of this outstanding institution to bear upon the problem herein treated.

In the light of prevailing rural conditions, this book deals specially with the first five or six years of school life, and with the training and supervision needed by teachers to redirect the village school, and help in strengthening the life of the people. Throughout, the aim has been practical and constructive, detailed suggestions being offered as to the next steps toward improvement and reform. One can heartily commend this study to all who share the responsibility for the full development of India's children and youth.

New York, 1925.

D. J. FLEMING.

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INTRODUCTION

A. The Problem in Hand.—B. Work Already Done.—C. Explanation of Terms.—D. Brevity of Treatment.

A. THE PROBLEM IN HAND

ONE-SIXTH of the human race lives in the villages of India. Nine of every ten Indians are villagers, over ninety-two per cent. of them being illiterate. In order to give them the education they urgently need as human beings and citizens of the new India, more adequate schools and teachers are imperatively demanded. The present study deals with the complex problem of reforming and extending village education in India and improving the teaching force. From this main problem three broad enquiries emerge: *First, What conditions that prevail in the villages affect education? Second, What next steps are needed to reform and extend the education that is offered in the village schools? Third, What immediate measures are required to provide thoroughly for the professional preparation and development of teachers and for the fulfilment of their various responsibilities?*

This study is broad in scope, bringing data together from many different sources, rather than being based on a narrow statistical enquiry. The times call for a wholly new attitude toward village education and for extensive reforms, but large ideals are not herein treated so much as definite points of procedure, not future goals so much as first steps in the right direction. Suggestions as to such steps are set forth after a brief outline of present conditions in each division of the Second and Third Enquiries. These proposals are meant to be stimulating rather than exhaustive. The data used have been derived in the following ways: documentary research into many books and reports on

Indian education and life ; extensive personal investigations of schools of all provinces of British India and in the Indian States of Baroda and Hyderabad ; detailed discussions with people directly concerned with village education, including government officials, Indian leaders and missionaries.

The questions here considered are of immense importance, not only on account of the vast number of people involved, but because humanity stands in debt to India for priceless treasures of philosophy, religion, art, literature, and exact mathematics. If India is adequately educated, in the remotest hamlets as well as in the towns, she promises to make even greater contributions to world civilization. However, unless the masses of India are truly educated, her life will be corrupt and chaotic, for no government rises higher than its source. With the increasingly closer communications, all men are sure to suffer if the sixth of their number who reside in the Indian villages, continue as slaves to ignorance and superstition. The situation exhibits many elements of grave danger, for a very large share of the five million men and women who have recently been admitted to the Indian franchise are illiterate villagers.

The whole country is undergoing startling changes. Several branches of administration in the provinces have been placed largely under popular direction. The land is thrilling with a new national spirit ; millions of men and women are on fire with an impetuous love for India and bitter impatience at whatever stands in the way of their country's freest development. Even the illiterate masses are losing their ancient torpor, and are struggling for self-expression and for their rights. All these rapid changes have thrown Mahatma Gandhi into prominence as one of the most significant characters in the life of the modern world. India's rebirth is generating potential driving forces that can be used in vitalizing her schools. In directing the new impulses of the day into wise and constructive channels, education must have its share.

Staggering are the difficulties in the way of making popular education play its rightful part in the present changes. Among the great obstacles are: the fact that there are 286 millions of villagers to be educated ; the small

size of the villages—on the average about 400 people; the still smaller size of the hamlets forming the real residential units; the rigid social barriers of caste; religious and racial antagonism; the chasm between town and village life; desperate rural poverty and resignation to custom; the low *per capita* production and the appalling health conditions of the country; uncertainty as to the most suitable type of education; and the current indifference to the possibilities of village education, and to the urgent necessity of its improvement.

B. WORK ALREADY DONE

Because of the immensity of such difficulties and the insufficiency of wisely co-ordinated effort to overcome them, the actual results so far accomplished in village education have been pitifully inadequate in meeting the demands of the situation. Low-grade men, with little or no training, have been left in lonely hamlets almost without guidance, at one of the most baffling tasks in the world. The government educational departments have directed more money and attention to town education than to village primary education, for the town schools have been closer and more responsive. The original hope was that, after some Indians had received secondary and higher education, the effects of schooling would automatically filter down to the masses; but such has not been the case, for the academically trained men have prided themselves on their superiority in book knowledge and stayed in the more congenial surroundings of the towns. Almost as a matter of course, village primary schools have been inspected by a lower grade of men than have schools of any other kind. The educational efforts of Christian missions in the villages have often been directed toward having a large number of poor schools, rather than a smaller number of good institutions. However, outstanding progress has been made at Moga in the Punjab, and some other places. Other privately managed schools in the villages have usually been on a very flimsy basis.

Not only has actual accomplishment been small, but too little constructive planning on a broad scale has been done.

Until very recently, the tendency has been to neglect and slight village education as something unworthy of respect and sacrifice. Government reports have scarcely dealt with it, except in connection with primary education in general. Moreover, whatever valuable experience has been gained in one province or district has been very little known in other places; small use has been made of the principles of progressive education established by other countries. Some of the ideas that have spread widely have been hazy and untested. The most comprehensive statement of general principles and plans is the work of the Commission on Village Education in India.¹ Their excellent and stimulating report differs from the present study in being concerned primarily with Christian education, in covering middle schools and boarding schools as well as the primary day schools, in dealing with the preparation of teachers in less detail, and in giving less attention and fewer references to the literature of the subject.

C. EXPLANATION OF TERMS

The name *India* in the following pages designates the Indian Empire. However, descriptions and figures are not separately given for Burma, Baluchistan, or various islands which differ greatly from India proper, nor for Delhi which is urban. Although some of the figures for population include the Indian States which have their own hereditary rulers, nearly all the educational figures refer only to British India, which has, roughly, four-fifths of the people and three-fifths of the area of the Indian Empire.

This investigation follows the Census definition of *village*, namely, a non-urban unit used for revenue purposes. On the average it has 418 people. Even this small population is generally divided among several

¹ The Commission was sent out by the Missionary Conference of Great Britain and Ireland and the Foreign Missionary Conference of North America. The report (see Bibliography at the end of the book) is of great value to all interested in this problem in India, and is frequently quoted in the following pages.

residential units or collections of houses.¹ Very occasionally, government villages contain only one hamlet or are entirely uninhabited. The people live closely together on one or more hamlet sites, and walk out to farm their holdings of land, which may lie at considerable distances.

The *towns* in the Census include all municipalities, cantonments, English quarters, and every continuous collection of houses with over 5,000 people, except a few that the Census officials class as rural.

The *rural* areas of India are virtually synonymous with the villages, since practically all of India's people live close together, either in the 685,665 villages or in the 2,316 towns, and scarcely any at all in the open country apart from other habitations.

The *village primary schools* here considered have a course that theoretically covers five (or six) years, but actually only 8·1 per cent. of the children in the first class ever reach the fifth class. None but the exceptionally placed children continue their education in town schools.

Training institutions mean any institutions preparing teachers. Those working on the collegiate level are designated training colleges; those on a lower level, training schools. Only such training schools as send their alumni to the village are specially considered in this study.

One *rupee*, according to the 1925 rate of exchange, equals about one-thirteenth of a pound sterling or over one-third of an American dollar. An *anna* is one-sixteenth of a rupee, and about equivalent to an English penny. Fractional parts of rupees and annas are expressed below as decimals. A *lakh* is 100,000 rupees.

D. BREVITY OF TREATMENT

The gigantic size of the field of this investigation has prevented anything more than a very cursory treatment of many large phases, even of those that are of such importance as to deserve elaborate study. The amount of space

¹ Six representative *taluks* (parts of a district) in Madras were reported (1922) to have 2,937 residential units within 1,148 administrative villages, or 2·6 units per village.

assigned to any question is determined by its relation to the problem in hand, rather than by its own significance. Immediate objectives, rather than ultimate goals, are herein treated. Conditions are sketched only in their broad outlines and most characteristic phases. Many of the reasons for the measures proposed in the Second and Third Enquiries have been barely mentioned, or only suggested indirectly; frequent references back to the facts given under the First Enquiry have been considered unnecessary. The detailed adaptation of the proposals to the special circumstances and localities has been curtailed through paucity of space. The importance of readers in India investigating in detail their particular local conditions cannot be over emphasized. Such original search is of far greater value to the individual than passively absorbing any amount of second-hand information. Consequently, in order to lay a sound basis for advance, let the reader at each point ask himself what trustworthy evidence he has as to local needs, resources, and practical steps for advance.

Far less scrutiny has been given in this book to middle than to primary schools, on account of the far greater number of primary schools in the rural areas, and the fact that they absorb nearly all the village teachers. At this stage the same course of study is suitable to both boys and girls.

Although the professional training and the employment of many more women teachers than at present is one of the greatest essentials to the true progress of Indian education, most of the facts and principles regarding men teachers given in Chapters VI, VII and VIII also apply to women. Where the facts concerning women are very clearly unlike those for men, mention is made of the differences in Chapter IX.

Because the pages of this book deal with all the village and training schools of India, no separate attempt is made to solve the particular problems confronting Christian schools as distinguished from those under other auspices. Such special questions fall within the purview of bodies focusing their attention on Christian education, such as committees of the provincial Christian councils.

FIRST ENQUIRY :

WHAT CONDITIONS PREVAIL IN THE
VILLAGES ?

Women at the well, children playing with pebbles on squares marked out in the dust, field labourers carrying their light ploughs over their shoulders, their oxen stalking on in front, setting the leisurely pace.

—AMY CARMICHAEL

CHAPTER I

ECONOMIC BACKWARDNESS AND RECENT CHANGES

A. Why Does Education Require Adaptation to Local Conditions?—B. How Do Agricultural Facts Mould Village Life?—C. What Is the Place of Village Industries?—D. Have the Villagers Money for Schools?—E. How Far Is Child Labour Necessary?—F. What Forces Make for Change and Improvement?

A. WHY DOES EDUCATION REQUIRE ADAPTATION TO LOCAL CONDITIONS?

VOLUMES would be needed to treat adequately the economic situation in the villages. To every general statement there are many exceptions. Within the limits of this chapter, only a few of the salient and typical facts concerning the economic conditions bearing on village education can be presented.

The villagers of India number 286,467,204, which is over twice the population of the Roman Empire at its greatest extent, and seven times that of Great Britain. They are scattered over an area of 1,805,332 square miles, or more than twenty times the size of Britain. Some Indian villagers live as far north as Gibraltar or Tokyo, and others 2,000 miles to the south, at the latitude of the Orinoco river. People on the western edge of Sind are over 1,800 miles from those on the east, in the Assam hills.¹

¹ India stretches from the 8th to the 37th parallel north of the Equator, and from the 66th to the 100th meridian east of Greenwich.

The rural people live in 685,665 census villages, averaging 418 each. Most of these villages contain from two to a dozen residential units, and the larger ones are regularly so divided.¹ Of the Indian population, only 10 per cent. live in places classed as urban, while in Japan 49 per cent. live in places so classed; in England 79 per cent.; and in the United States over 47 per cent. are in places with over 5,000 persons.

India, as a whole, has less than half the density of Japan or the United Kingdom, but many of its large cultivated areas have twice the density of those countries.² Nearly one-half the people live on one-sixth of the area, which has a density of 350 per square mile.

The northern half of India lies in the Temperate Zone and stretches nearly a thousand miles north of the Tropic of Cancer. Continental India, as this part is called, is roughly triangular, and contains the world's highest mountains, and valleys so rugged as to afford little sustenance

¹ The 32,475,276 townspeople live in 2,316 towns. The distribution of the population between towns and villages of different sizes is shown by the following percentages.

| <i>In Towns</i> | | <i>In Villages</i> | |
|---------------------|------------|--------------------|------------|
| Of 20,000 and over | .. 5.6 | Of 5,000 and over | .. 2.2 |
| Of 10,000 to 20,000 | . 1.9 | Of 2,000 to 5,000 | .. 13.6 |
| Of 5,000 to 10,000 | .. 2.0 | Of 500 to 2,000.. | .. 43.6 |
| Of under 5,000 .. | .. 0.7 | Of under 500 .. | .. 30.4 |
| | <hr/> 10.2 | | <hr/> 89.8 |

The 2,340,991 Protestant Christians of India are reported to live in no fewer than 39,727 villages (or hamlets). The average figure of only 59 to each settlement, shows the enormous educational obstacles caused by the diffusion of the population. (*National Missionary Council*, January 10-16, 1923.)

² The figures for the mean density per square mile for parts of India and for other countries are :

| | | | |
|---------------|---------|-------------------|-------|
| All India | .. 177 | Japan | . 339 |
| British India | .. 226 | England and Wales | 701 |
| Indian States | .. 101 | United States | .. 31 |
| | Belgium | 658 | |

The main factors determining the density of population in India are : good rainfall, irrigation, evenness of the surface, richness of the soil, and small amount of malaria. (*Census of India, 1911*, pp. 26-27.)

for human life. But the region south of the mountains is a large plain, supporting on its fertility over a hundred million farmers, and forming the most densely populated tract of its size on earth.

Peninsular India extends from the Tropic of Cancer far toward the south, the point of its triangle being eight degrees north of the Equator. Practically all of it is so old, geologically, that not a single marine fossil has ever been found. It contrasts strikingly in this particular with the upstart Himalayas, which are one of the most recent formations. Every geological epoch between is represented in some part of the Indian Empire.

The interior of the Peninsula, or South India, is an elevated plateau, bounded by broken ranges of hills and mountains on all three sides, which in the extreme south rise to a height of 8,760 feet. Along the shores of the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal runs a narrow alluvial plain of varying width, which formed the India known in the West to medieval tradition.

Politically, India is divided into British India and the Indian States. British India is under the direct rule of the British and Indian Governments, and has 61 per cent. of the area and 77 per cent. of the people.¹ It is subdivided into 14 provinces and 275 districts. The rest of India is made up of the Indian States, large and small, which have varying degrees of autonomy in their internal affairs, but all acknowledge the suzerainty of the British King Emperor, and their foreign policy is controlled by the British Agent or Resident. A few of them are more progressive than British India, but many of them have very corrupt and extravagant courts, that pay little or no heed to the economic and educational needs of their people.

India has within its borders many racial groups. The basic people are the Dravidians, who have been in India no one knows how long, and have developed their physical characteristics locally. Successive hordes of invaders of Aryan, Scythian, Pathan and Mogul stock, have come in

¹ British Provinces have (1921) 247,003,293 and the Indian States 71,939,187, giving a total of 318,942,480.

from the northwest and Mongoloid tribes have entered from the northeast. The descendants of these invaders are found either pure or mixed with the Dravidians in various proportions.

India is also divided linguistically, for there are thirteen languages each spoken by over five million people, and a total of 222 distinct languages. Of the very intense and deep-rooted barriers, due to religion and caste, mention is made in Chapter II.

In spite of its manifold diversities, however, India has not only had a cultural unity affecting its educated and religious classes for thousands of years, but much of the tradition and folklore has been common to illiterate as well as to literate for generations. Moreover, strong mountain and water barriers blocking off the country, with the exception of Burma and Baluchistan, from the rest of the world, have tended toward uniting the peoples.¹

From the foregoing facts, it is evident that India is so large and populous, and contains so many diversities, that any plans for village education must be carefully adapted to the particular conditions obtaining in the province or area. Provinces, districts and even neighbouring villages differ greatly from each other.

B. HOW DO AGRICULTURAL FACTS MOULD VILLAGE LIFE ?

India's economic welfare is based on agriculture and pasture; if the monsoon rains fail, the whole country suffers. The village schools are almost entirely concerned with educating the children of the farming classes. Of the total population, 72·5 per cent. have agriculture and pasture as their main source of income, and 5·3 per cent. engage in agriculture as a subsidiary means of livelihood. Nearly half of these people themselves do actual agri-

¹ "No other country of equal extent, not being an island, is so completely isolated as India, or forms so true a geographical unity. This fact, more than any other single cause, has moulded its destiny and guided the development of its people." (Patterson, *Geography of India*, p. 2.)

cultural work. The 72·5 per cent., or 229 millions, supported entirely by ordinary cultivation, are distributed as follows: the eight million landlords either live on the rents of the land which they lease to others, or else cultivate their lands entirely by the agency of hired labour;¹ the 167 million cultivators of their own and others' lands form the majority and the conservative backbone of the Indian population; the 38 million landless field servants and labourers have the bitterest struggle for existence, toiling from sunrise to sunset, wearing little clothing, sleeping in wretched hovels, and devouring coarse food that little more than keeps body and soul together;² less than a million people serve as estate agents, managers and their employees.

Although India has variations of temperature and rainfall that are without parallel in any other country, the main climatic features of the year over a large part of the land may be roughly summarized:

| MONTHS | PER CENT. OF AVERAGE RAINFALL ³ | | COMMENTS |
|---------------------|--|----|---|
| January—February .. | 2 | .. | Dry and cool. |
| March—May .. | 10 | .. | Dry, with increasing heat. |
| June—September .. | 77 | .. | Southwest monsoon period, with increasing coolness. |
| October—December.. | 11 | .. | Retreating southwest mon- soon period. Rains along the southeast coast. |

The Indian cultivator, with a growing season of from nine to twelve months, has an advantage over his brother

¹ According to Mr. G. Keatinge, formerly Director of Agriculture for Bombay, the landholders with less than forty acres of dry crop land who have all their work done by hired labour, are a mere encumbrance on the land. In Bengal there are sometimes over a dozen landlords, each exacting his toll, between the cultivator and the government. On the other hand, the landlords who have a good-sized tract and supervise it carefully may be doing a distinct service.

² The average for all India shows one field labourer to every four cultivators, the proportion of field labourers being much greater in those provinces and districts having the largest proportions of the hereditary serfs of the depressed classes. (*Census, 1911*, p. 413.)

³ The average rainfall for the 2,000 weather stations in India is 45 inches. (*Imperial Gazetteer, Indian Empire*, I, 140.)

in colder climes, where the growing season is shortened by frost and snow. The hot and dry months of April and May are the least favourable for plant growth. Two crops a year are grown on a seventh of India's cropped area.

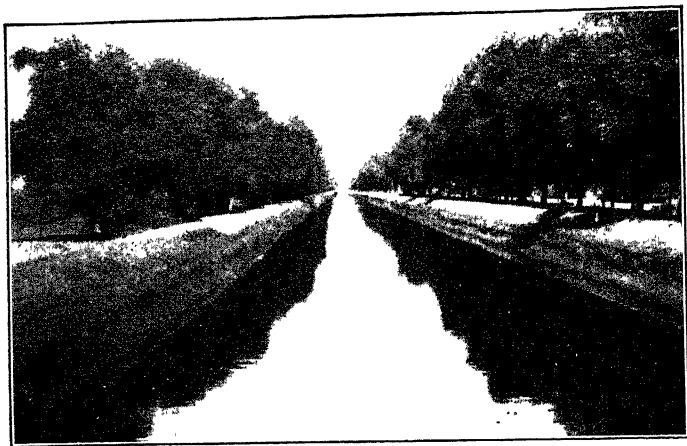
The great heat from March to July on the plains and plateaux of India tends to lower the energy of the villagers and their capacity for very intensive work. But in many places much of this time is a slack agricultural season in any case. The considerable heat in the middle of the day throughout the year is one of the reasons why the cultivator is easy-going. Instead of working hard and then taking a complete rest from work, as the Englishman does, the cultivator takes fewer hours for rest and mingles his rest with his work.

For the 229 million of Indians who obtain their livelihood from agriculture, water is the supremely important factor. Where the supply is sufficient, two and sometimes three crops a year are grown on the same land; and larger crops are made possible. In ordinary years the total amount of rainfall would be enough, except that it is poorly distributed from year to year, from season to season, and from place to place.

The most serious drawback is the fact that the amount of rain varies so much from year to year.¹ Scarcely a year passes that some district does not suffer from scarcity or famine.² The main factors tending to increase the number of deaths during such times are: inability to buy grain at the high prices, unemployment, low earning capacity, epidemics of cholera and other diseases. During severe famines

¹ In Jatisgaon there were only nine good agricultural seasons in 24 years. (Mann, *Land and Labour*, II.)

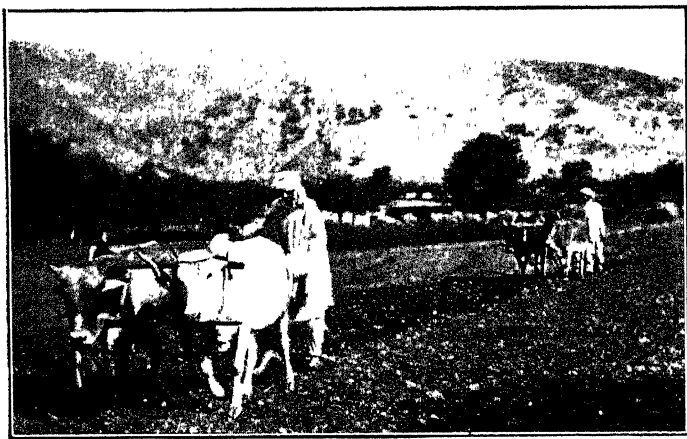
² The central and provincial governments have worked out careful schemes for the relief of famine. Some of the features are suspension of revenue and granting of agricultural loans; plans for public works that can quickly be put into execution, thus employing thousands of people; free relief to those who cannot work at all, means for saving the cattle; the enlistment of non-official help. In the famine of 1918-19 the people seemed to be better able to withstand the effects of the failure of the rains. Although the shortage of water was almost as bad as in 1899-1900, when a million people died, the mortality in 1919 was only a small fraction of that number.



H R Feiger

FIFTY MILLION ACRES IN INDIA ARE IRRIGATED

In the North the life-giving water is brought from the eternal snows through hundreds of miles of canals



H R Feiger

CULTIVATION AS PRACTISED FOR MILLENNIUMS

The ineffective plough, that barely scratches the surface, typifies the peasant's utterly inadequate means of production.

millions of acres will not produce so much as a blade of grass. Between 1860 and 1910, twenty-two famines carried off 28,000,000 people.¹ In spite of this, the high birth-rate, together with other factors, has been responsible for a rise in the number of people per square mile from 114 in 1872, to 177 in 1921.

The average rainfall of 45 inches is also unevenly distributed from season to season, 34.65 inches of it coming in the heavy downpours during the great monsoon from June to September. Therefore, one of India's most pressing problems is to spread out the water supply over the year to those months when the crops need it most.

| MAIN METHODS USED | | | | MILLIONS OF ACRES WATERED (1922) |
|----------------------|----|----|----|-------------------------------------|
| Wells | .. | .. | .. | 12.1 |
| Canals from rivers | | .. | .. | 23.2 |
| Tanks or reservoirs | | .. | .. | 7.0 |
| Other sources | .. | .. | .. | 5.6 |

The government irrigation works, which water 28 million acres, have been an enormous boon to the village population. The estimated value of the crops raised on this land in a single year amounts to 1,700 million rupees, as compared with the entire original capital cost of only 812 millions. Rice and wheat are generally irrigated.

The soils of India may be broadly classified into : (a) the water-holding alluvial clay of the Ganges valley and delta, found also along the coast and in the deltas of Southern India; (b) the black cotton soil over the northwestern corner of the Peninsula around Bombay; (c) the more sandy and porous soils common in South India and in the Indus valley. Few soils in the world have been cropped so continuously for so many generations as those in India. Except in those places where rivers in flood leave a layer of silt over the land, most of the soil is steadily growing poorer in fertility, on account of the huge quantities of cattle dung that are burned every year for fuel, and the bones and phosphates that are shipped out of the country. On the more valuable crops green manures, cattle dung, oil cake, and a little artificial fertilizer are used.

¹ G. S. Eddy, *India Awakening*, p. 22.

The value of India's average yield per acre has been computed to be half that of Italy, two-fifths that of France, one-third that of Egypt, and only a quarter that of Japan.¹ Although India has nearly half the world's acreage under sugar-cane, her normal output is only a fourth of the world's cane-sugar supply. Dr. Gilbert Slater says that five agricultural families in India produce enough food for eight or nine families, while five agricultural families in Western Europe or North America would feed about fifty families.

The main crops are as follows:²

| | | | MILLIONS OF ACRES (1923) | PROVINCES WITH THE LARGEST ACREAGES | |
|----------------|----|----|-----------------------------|--|---------------------|
| | | | | 1ST | 2ND |
| Rice | .. | .. | 80.6 | .. Bengal | .. Bihar |
| Millets | .. | .. | 41.0 | .. Bombay | .. Madras |
| Wheat | .. | .. | 24.4 | .. Punjab | .. United Provinces |
| Grain or pulse | .. | .. | 16.8 | .. United Provinces | .. Punjab |
| Oilseeds | .. | .. | 13.9 | .. Madras | .. Bihar |
| Cotton | .. | .. | 13.6 | .. Central Provinces | .. Bombay |

India leads the world in the production of rice, tea, oilseeds, the millets, shellac, and jute. She comes second in the amount of sugar-cane, cotton and tobacco. The chief exports are cotton, jute, food grains and pulses, oilseeds, tea, hides and skins.

The cultivator, having no place for storing up much grain, is forced to sell most of his crop at harvest time, when the price is very low.³ His extremely difficult situation is thus summed up by the Industrial Commission:⁴

The export trade from country districts generally suffers from the existence of an undue number of middlemen, who intercept a large share of the profits; the reasons for this are various. In the first place, it must be remembered that a great number of Indian cultivators are

¹ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th Edition, XV, p. 197.

² *Indian Year Book*, 1924, pp. 296-98.

³ "Estimates made by co-operators of the loss involved in selling a crop at harvest time (instead of a few months later, when prices have risen to a normal level) are rarely below ten rupees an acre; more generally they state the loss per acre at twenty or thirty rupees, and sometimes higher still." (F. R. Hemingway, *Madras Co-operative Manual*, p. 13.)

⁴ *Indian Industrial Commission*, 1916-18, pp. 5-6.

indebted to a class of traders who not only lend money, but lend, purchase and sell grain, and sell such articles as cloth, salt and oil to the small consumers. The position of the peasant farmer, with grain, seeds and cotton to sell, and at the same time heavily indebted to his only possible purchaser, effectually prevents him from obtaining a fair market price for his crop. Even where the farmer is not burdened by debt, his purchases and sales are often both reckoned in cash in the dealer's books, at a rate which is not always known to the customer at the time. The farmer, owing partly to poverty and partly to the extreme subdivision of land, is very often a producer on so small a scale that it is practically impossible for him to take his crop to the larger markets. . . . The market rules and organization do not usually provide means for preventing or punishing fraudulent trade methods. . . . Complaints are frequent, but all parties accept what appears to them inevitable. But, where a better organization has been established, the ryots thoroughly appreciate the benefit. A better market system, co-operative selling, and education are the most promising remedies.

The numbers of co-operative societies in which people unite to sell their produce or buy outside goods, is not very large, since they are new and the people are slow to trust each other. Still they undoubtedly will have a future of great usefulness.

For the transportation of crops and people, India has some good trunk roads, but these do not go to enough places to meet the needs of the rural people in any adequate way. Often a village or hamlet has no communication with the outside world, except a narrow path between the rice fields. Where there are dirt roads, they are often impassable to carts in the rainy season because of the mud and the swiftly rushing torrents, and in the dry seasons they are many feet thick with sand and dust. The 38,000 miles of railway, and the lower reaches of the Indus, Ganges, and Brahmaputra are of the greatest service in transportation.¹

In spite of the fact that the villagers are eager to own

¹ Sir Daniel Hamilton, a leading Calcutta merchant, writes: "We have given the people a railway system which removes their surplus crops, but we have not yet given them a banking system to bring back the price. The world takes the surplus crops, the *sowcar* (money-lender) and the trader take the money, and the devil takes the people." ("India, Her Present and Future," *Calcutta Review*, July, 1916, p. 295.)

land,¹ 38 million farm labourers and servants, and millions more who lease and cultivate the property of others, have no land at all. They are thus debarred from the greater steadiness, self-respect and thrift which land ownership encourages.

Those who do own land, frequently have such extremely small amounts that all their time cannot be profitably employed. The acreage of cultivated land *per capita* in India and other countries is as follows:²

| | OF THE TOTAL POPULATION | | | OF THOSE ACTUALLY DOING FARM WORK | |
|-------------------|----------------------------|----|----|--------------------------------------|--|
| British India .. | 11 | .. | .. | 3 | |
| Japan .. | 0.3 | .. | .. | 1 | |
| United Kingdom .. | 0.4 | .. | .. | 8 | |
| United States .. | 3.5 | .. | .. | 25 | |
| Canada .. | 4.6 | .. | .. | 51 | |

Even more serious than the smallness of a man's small holdings is their fragmentation into many plots widely separated from each other, which is an unmitigated drain on the economic life of the cultivator.³ The causes of the trouble are: the Hindu law of inheritance calling for a division of the property, no matter how small, and the customs connected with that law by which each child receives a part of every plot owned by the deceased.

The leasing of others' fields for cultivation is very common, both by those with and without land of their own. Custom largely determines the amount of the rent, for

¹ Their desire to possess land is due to: the social prestige involved; the fact that profits are not eaten up by high rents; and the value of land as one of the standard forms of investment.

² *Geography of the World's Agriculture, World Almanac, 1922.*

³ Some of the evil effects of excessive subdivision and fragmentation of land are: waste of time, prevention of permanent improvement of the land and orderly organization of labour and capital, and serious interference with cultivation. In one village in the Kanara District, 52 acres of land were held by 50 landholders in as many as 139 different plots. (G. Keatinge, *Agricultural Progress in Western India*, p. 71 and Appendix I.) In a Bombay village, 16 out of 156 landholders had their land divided into ten or more separate plots, some of them only a thirtieth of an acre. One man had his holding of 8.3 acres broken into sixteen plots, while another had twenty different plots. (Mann, *Land and Labour in a Deccan Village*, I.)

which commonly a share of the produce is paid, sometimes as much as a half. Although the provincial governments have made many efforts to protect the rights of tenants and small landowners, the laws have been sometimes difficult to enforce in the villages, and it has been found almost impossible to protect from unfair treatment the sub-tenants and those who lease land from them. Even more unfortunate are the 38 million farm servants and field labourers who have no rights in the soil at all and are constantly being exploited.

The central government has for long centuries had a vital interest in the land as one of its main sources of revenue;¹ and the provincial governments are now getting large funds from this source. The state appropriates for itself a direct share in the produce of the soil, the money owed to the government being the first liability on the land. The revenue to be received from each piece of land is determined directly, without an assessment of its value or the fixing of a certain proportion of the value for payment. The process of determining the payment for a certain kind of land is known as a settlement, which is either "permanent" or "temporary." The main varieties of tenure are three: (a) that in which a large landlord, or *zemindar*, passes on a portion of the rent received by him; (b) that in which the cultivator, or *ryot*, enters into a direct compact as to the amount to be paid; and (c) that in which the village is jointly responsible for the payment of the money to the government. The methods of collecting the revenue and the amounts differ within the same province, and even within the same district. Under the second form of tenure, one-fifth of the gross produce is the limit in practice.² When the crops fail, the state may remit or postpone payment after careful inquiry. The land revenue for India as a whole came (1900-1) to Re. 1.2 per head, and the incidence on the fully assessed lands was for the total area Re. 0.8 per acre, or Re. 1.5 per cultivated acre.² The

¹ The land revenue in 1923 formed 18 per cent. of India's total revenue from all sources, in contrast with the 1 per cent. that the land tax furnishes to Britain.

² *Land Revenue Policy of the India Government, 1902*, pp. 47-48.

landholders complain of the amount they have to pay. Under present low standards of production, the share paid is large; but if the production were increased by better methods, the burden would be less.

India has about 130 million cattle against the 66 million of its nearest competitor, the United States, but most of those in India are weak and scrawny beasts. The bullocks are used only for draft, and cows are profitable only when they produce male calves, or give a little milk.¹ Hindus will not countenance the slaughter of any of the profitless animals, and they abhor beef eating. The water buffaloes give far richer milk, and are more useful for cultivating flooded land. The goats, numbering 29 million, are tended by the village boys. There are few other useful animals in the rural areas, except some puny poultry.

The Indian farmer uses methods fixed by custom thousands of years ago; his equipment is both scanty and poor in quality. The common plough is merely a wooden stick with a small iron point that just scratches the ground, without turning over the soil or destroying the deeply rooted weeds.² A very rough kind of seed selection is sometimes practised by the wealthier villagers, but the poorer ones can do nothing of the kind. The cultivators are ignorant of the way to combat plant diseases, and know little of what the agricultural departments are doing. However, they are gradually opening their eyes to improvements,³ especially in the south, and in connection with the more valuable crops. In Western India, agricultural progress is real but slow.⁴

From this brief sketch of Indian agriculture, we see that its vicissitudes and heavy burdens are such as to increase the villagers' fear of change. The fact that nearly three-

¹ G. Keatinge, *Agricultural Progress in Western India*, p. 111. The Madras agricultural department estimate that the average value per animal of the milk produced by the 8,200,000 cows and cow buffaloes of the Presidency, is between a quarter and a third of an anna a day. (*Madras Year Book*, 1923, p. 792.)

² Easily repairable, light steel ploughs are now available.

³ See *India in 1919*, p. 105.

⁴ G. Keatinge, *Agricultural Progress in Western India*, Chapter I.

quarters of India's population are engaged in cultivation, makes it incumbent on the village school to provide education that is suited to the children of farmers.

C. WHAT IS THE PLACE OF VILLAGE INDUSTRIES ?

India is virtually a land of one industry, agriculture, which is clearly a very precarious undertaking, dependent for its success on an irregular and uncertain rainfall. Since four-fifths of the villagers draw their main livelihood from this source, widespread distress is caused by bad agricultural years. These could be better borne if more people derived some income from other sources. The right development of large factories in the cities and of smaller industries of the towns can do a very great deal toward reducing the vicissitudes of Indian life, but village handicrafts or cottage industries can also have a real share in making the country better able to withstand the shock of hard times.

Those engaged in village industries and agriculture are mutually dependent on each other, though not so exclusively as used to be the case.¹ Village relationships and occupations have both changed.² Rural industries that used to be

¹ "Until the recent introduction of Western commodities, such as machine-made cloth, kerosene oil, umbrellas, and the like, each village was provided with a complete equipment of artisans and menials, and was thus almost wholly self-supporting and independent. . . . Where this system was fully developed, the duties and remuneration of each group of artisans were fixed by custom, and the caste rules strictly prohibited a man from entering into competition with another of the same caste. . . . They received a regular yearly payment for their services, which often took the form of a prescriptive share of the harvest. . . . The village is no longer the self-contained industrial unit which it formerly was, and many disintegrating influences are at work to break down the solidarity of village life." (*Census, 1911*, pp. 408-9.)

² Nine-tenths of the rural people are still supported by primitive pursuits, the numbers per 10,000 being (*Census, 1911*, p. 408): landlords and tenants, 5,606; agricultural labourers, 1,316; general labourers, 287; cotton workers, 207; stockowners, milkmen and herdsmen, 164; mendicants, 128; grocers and confectioners, 119; fishermen, boatmen and palanquin bearers, 113; grain dealers and money-lenders, 109; basket-makers, scavengers and drummers, 107. The following occupations, each with less than one per cent. of the village population, bring

widespread have been hard pressed during the last century by the competition of manufactured goods, whether those from Europe or those made in India. Moreover, the rise in the value of farm products has tended to throw some of the artisans into farming. Classes that for centuries have done degrading work for their fellow villagers, are leaving their ancient tasks and aspiring to something higher. Migration has likewise tended to the disruption of village industry. Many of the former kinds of work can never be profitably restored, but it is still possible to find simple cottage industries that are suited to local conditions, that can be carried on during spare moments, and that produce a marketable product.¹ If the popular movement to foster handicrafts is guided by such principles, it will be highly advantageous to the country.

One reason has been stated above—India's too complete dependence on agriculture. Another very vital reason is that, during three to six months of the year, the ryot has little or no work to do on his crops; nor during these months can he find work on his neighbours' fields. Sometimes he can get employment on public works, but there is rarely enough of such work to go round. Other villagers living near a city, such as those described by Dr. Harold Mann at Pimpla Soudagar, go into the factories in the cities during the slack season. The cultivators would benefit by some subsidiary occupation to make their spare time profitable, not only during the months they are not working, but also during the hours of the day when there is little to do. The women can also help in village industries, as is done to good effect in Burma.

the total to 9,029 : carpenters and woodcutters, miscellaneous workers, washermen, barbers, grains huskers and parchers, priests, village watchmen and other officials, potters, goldsmiths, vegetable and fruit sellers, cartmen and pack animal drivers, blacksmiths, oilpressers, toddy drawers, makers and sellers of bangles, workers in brass, copper and bell-metal, and, lastly, village practitioners and midwives.

¹ Some of the possible industries that agriculturists might use in addition to their regular work, to furnish an extra source of income, are : mulberry, eri, or tusser-silk cultivation ; the spinning of cotton yarn ; hand-loom weaving ; bee keeping for honey and wax ; the breeding of cattle on a small scale ; the keeping of poultry.



SOME VILLAGERS TWISTING ROPE

Such cottage industries, using local materials and making necessary articles, encourage thrift by rendering spare moments profitable.

Thus, village industries still have a very important place to fill in India's economic life, in spite of the fact that many of them have been waning. Those that are suitable need to be fostered by co-operative societies. Youths in the middle schools can also be familiarized with these occupations that are subsidiary to agriculture.

D. HAVE THE VILLAGERS MONEY FOR SCHOOLS?

Very large divergencies are apparent between the rich and the poor in the same village, and between the economic positions of neighbouring hamlets and villages, to say nothing of the contrasts between different regions of India. In two Deccan villages carefully studied by Dr. Harold Mann, 65 per cent. and 85 per cent. of the families were insolvent, and unable to buy the requisite food and clothing without falling deeper and deeper into debt.¹ On the other hand, J. C. Jack classified 49 per cent. of the people in a fairly prosperous Bengal district as living in comfort, 28 per cent. as below comfort, 19 per cent. as above want, and 4 per cent. as in want.² In most Indian villages the proportion of the people whose economic status is desperate would fall between these extremes of 85 per cent. and 4 per cent. The poorest villagers give little support to the school, except for their labour in putting up

¹ In Pimpila Soudagar the average income per head came to Rs. 44 per annum; 65 per cent. of the families were insolvent. In Jatisgaon, where the rainfall was more precarious, the income per head was Rs. 33·8, while the minimum expense necessary for real needs was Rs. 44; 85 per cent. of the families were insolvent and incurring an annual deficit of Rs. 137. (*Land and Labour in a Deccan Village*, I and II.)

² The cultivators had, on the average, smaller incomes than others, especially in the case of those living in comfort. In all his figures Jack excludes the value of the fish caught by members of the family (a considerable amount), and the value of the jewellery bought. The average size of family was 5·4, the poorer families containing the smaller numbers, the size for those in comfort being 5·7, but for those in want only 4·7. (*The Economic Life of a Bengal District*.) Families of wage earners in Bombay City with incomes below Rs. 30 have 3·8 members, and those with incomes over Rs. 90 have 6·1 members. (Shirras, *Enquiry into Working Class Budgets in Bombay*, p. 7.)

and repairing the building. Many of the others would give far more than at present, if they were convinced that the school was meeting their real needs.

The income of the villagers is one of the many questions requiring careful local study, but some light has been thrown on the position of typical groups of them by the scientific studies that have been made. Between 1906 and 1910, J.C. Jack directed a detailed survey of the economic life of 342,108 families in a Bengal district, 99 per cent. rural. His investigators first divided the families on the basis of the appearance of the people, their clothes, and their homes, into four classes, of which the income averaged as follows :

| | RUPEES PER HEAD ANNUALLY | | ANNAS PER HEAD DAILY | |
|---------------|-----------------------------|----|-------------------------|-----|
| In comfort | .. | 65 | .. | 2·9 |
| Below comfort | .. | 43 | .. | 1·9 |
| Above want | .. | 32 | .. | 1·4 |
| In want .. | .. | 26 | .. | 1·1 |
| Average .. | .. | 52 | .. | 2·3 |

Since 1920 the money income of agriculturists has increased, while the purchasing power of the rupee has become less. According to careful estimates of the Madras Department of Agriculture, the income *per capita* from farming of the agricultural population of the Presidency is 102 rupees a year, or 4·5 annas a day.¹ In the rural areas of the Bombay Presidency, the net income per head is about 75 rupees a year, or 3·3 annas a day.²

The wages of agricultural labourers vary widely in different places, depending on custom, the labour supply and demand, and the independence and ability of the labourers to move elsewhere. Their average daily wages in Bombay in 1922 were 7·3 annas, as compared with 12 annas for other unskilled labourers, and 1 rupee 10·8 annas for skilled

¹ Obtained by dividing the total value of all farm products (1920) by the agricultural population. (*Madras Year Book, 1923*, p. 793 ; *India in 1923*, p. 197.) The current statement that the "average income for all India is only Rs. 30 per annum," was a minimum, rather than a maximum, estimate. Moreover, it was made in 1899, when the purchasing power of the rupee in rice was more than double what it was in 1920.

² *India in 1923*, p. 197. The figure is for 1921.

labourers.¹ The field worker's wages are so low, in spite of his long hours and patient endurance, largely on account of his low productivity,² which is in turn the result of ignorance, weak health and harmful customs. Two important changes regarding the payment of wages have been taking place: payment in kind for services is rapidly giving way to a monetary economy, a process which brings many difficult maladjustments; and wages in many areas have shown an upward tendency, but the cost of necessities has risen about as rapidly.³

The ordinary villager spends between a half and three-quarters of his income on the food necessary to keep himself alive.⁴ The Madras Jail Department, which has worked out almost the cheapest dietary on which a man can be kept in health and strength, gives rations which cost the government 3·4 annas a day, or more than three-quarters of 4·5 annas, which was the average income of the agricultural classes in Madras at that time.

For a family of five, using the jail standard for the father and smaller amount for the mother and children, the

¹ In the rural areas of the Bombay Presidency and Sind, the real wages (the amount of food and clothing labourers can buy for their money wages) showed large gains between 1900 and 1914. But from 1914 to 1922, the real wages of field labourers decreased by 6 per cent., those of other unskilled labourers decreased by 9 per cent., while those of artisans rose by 2 per cent. These may be compared with the percentage increases between 1914 and 1922 in Australia (22), France (7), England and Wales (6); and with decreases in Sweden (1), Bulgaria (8), and the United States (17).

² A labourer in the Bombay Deccan is said to do a third as much work as one in the West Indies; and a woman picks 30 to 40 lb. of cotton a day, as contrasted with 60 lb. in Egypt and 120 lb. in the Southern United States.

³ "Of late years, the main trouble throughout the Indian country-side has been the failure of wages to overtake prices." (*India in 1922*, p. 192.) See also Sir Valentine Chirol, *India, Old and New*, p. 273.

⁴ "At present, an average Madras rustic family enjoying such an income (Rs. 100) must spend nearly half its earnings on staple food." (*India in 1922*, p. 195.) The *1921 Census* for Bombay estimates that the poorest classes must spend 68 per cent. of their income on food, 15 per cent. on clothing, 11 per cent. on other compulsory expenditure, leaving only 6 per cent. for amusements, education and miscellaneous. Wage earners in Bombay City in 1922 spent 56·8 per cent. of their income on food. (Shirras, *Working Class Budgets*, p. 14.)

monthly cost in the bazaar would be Rs. 23·9 or Rs. 187 a year.¹ Sir W. W. Hunter has written :

Two-fifths of the people of India enjoy a prosperity unknown under native rule ; two-fifths earn a fair but diminishing subsistence ; but the remaining fifth, or forty millions, go through life on insufficient food. It is these underfed forty millions who form the problem of over-population in India. The difficulty of solving it is intensified by the fact that, in spite of the hard struggle for life, their numbers rapidly increase.²

Hunger is never far from the threshold of the average peasant, and during the month before each semi-annual harvest she comes to dwell in the huts where she has been so many times before.

Having little or no productive savings, the villager when he needs money easily falls in debt, even though he must pay hard for it. In the Bengal district investigated by J. C. Jack, 41 per cent. of the people were in debt. The average debt per head was Rs. 11 for the population as a whole, and Rs. 29 for the families which were in debt. He divided the population in the following way :

| | PER CENT. |
|---|-----------|
| Free from debt | 59 |
| In debt about quarter of annual income .. | 20 |
| In debt about half of annual income .. | 12 |
| In debt about one year's income .. | 7 |
| In debt over two years' income .. | 2 |

The percentage of people in debt is undoubtedly in many areas higher than that found by Jack. The poorer families are specially weighted down with debt.³ Debts that last only one agricultural season are extremely common ; usually at the end of a half year the man has to pay the amount of grain borrowed, together with an extra

¹ Mrs. Whitehead, *Indian Economic Association Proceedings, 3rd Annual Conference*, p. 44.

² *England's Work in India*, p. 79 f.

³ The Registrar of Co-operative Societies in the Punjab has found that large proprietors have an average total debt of seven times the land tax paid by them, but that those owning or cultivating less than eight acres, have an average debt of twenty-eight times their land tax. In Bombay City, 47 per cent. of the working families are in debt and pay 75 per cent., or even 150 per cent., per annum. (Shirras, *Working Class Budgets*, p. 33.)

quarter or third, bringing up the annual interest rate to 50 or 66 per cent.

The main reasons why the villagers are so commonly and heavily in debt are: low production and low wages caused by the factors mentioned earlier; lack of surplus to tide over hard times, unproductive nature of savings; high rate of interest on previous loans; the fact that the money-lenders are also the agents of the great export firms; the transformation of the old human relations between the money-lender and the ryot into the legal relation of debtor and creditor; poor adjustment to new conditions;¹ extravagant social expenditures on weddings, dowries, and funeral ceremonies among all classes, and expenditure on drinking among the lower classes;² short-sightedness; the habit of being in debt and indifference to it; litigation; ignorance; and large families.

The interest rates do not commonly go below those found by Mann; on landed security, from 12 to 24 per cent. with the average at 14·3; on personal security from 12 to 72 per cent., the average being 23·4.³ For this same village he figures that the annual charges for interest

¹ "Before the British dominion was established in India, the usurer no doubt existed, but his opportunities were fewer, his position more precarious, and his operations more under control than at present. The money-lender then knew that his life would not be safe if he exacted too high interest for the loans with which he accommodated his customers, and that if he became too rich some charge or other would be trumped up against him, which would force him to surrender a large share of his wealth to the officials of the State in which he was living." (Lord Roberts, *Forty-one Years in India*, pp. 248-49.) The money-lenders have prospered in recent years. In the Punjab between 1898 and 1918 their incomes, subject to tax, rose from 15 to 35 million rupees, and their money on loan from 120 to 280 million rupees. (Calvert, *Wealth and Welfare of the Punjab*, p. 129 f.)

² The average cost of marriage to Bombay wage earners is Rs. 214, and of a funeral Rs. 35 per head. At least ten per cent. of the family income is spent on liquor, though few women drink. (Shirras, *Working Class Budgets*, pp. 31-41.)

³ The Registrar of Co-operative Societies in Bihar has said: "Seventy-five per cent. is not a very uncommon rate of interest charged to agriculturalists, and . . . 150 per cent. is by no means unknown." (*Calcutta Statesman*, December 28, 1917.)

amount to 24·5 per cent. of the total profits from the land. It would be possible to bring much other damning evidence against many money-lenders. Interest rates are very high, and extortion is common, because: capital is very scarce and credit facilities are defective; security is usually poor; the peasants are unbusinesslike about repayments, and are easily tricked and ignorant of their rights; though the courts and laws are designed to protect everyone, actually they are of most help to the money-lender.

In the south and in other parts of India, serfdom for debt among the poorer classes has been common, though it is becoming less so.¹ To pay off a debt a man works for a money-lender, if he has exhausted all other forms of security, receiving a little food but no money. No record is kept of the value of his services, and if any protest is made, the master threatens to go to court, where the serf would have no evidence to support his case. In this way a condition of pitiless serfdom is set up, which may endure for generations.

In spite of all this, the money-lender has a function that no one else now performs.² Because the cultivator must get seed, cattle, implements, and sometimes food, and has nothing laid by, and no one else to whom to go, his only recourse is the money-lender. To keep the peasant alive and working is to the money-lender's interest, and he sees that it is done. The courts now have discretion to say what rate is usurious, but the poor man has no money to fight his case in court. Agricultural loans from the government have done considerable good, but the approval of a loan has to pass through so many hands that the process is tedious and cumbersome. An eminently successful way of meeting the ryot's credit needs is through the co-operative credit societies discussed below in this chapter.

¹ *India in 1922*, p. 199.

² Sir Frederick Nicholson writes as follows concerning the money-lender: "As society and credit are at present constituted, he fills an absolute gap, and is a rural necessity. On the other hand, he is most undoubtedly an expensive and dangerous necessity."

The entire *per capita* assets of India and other countries before the World War were estimated as follows:¹

| | | | | Rs. |
|------------------|----|----|----|-------|
| India . | .. | .. | .. | 210 |
| Japan .. | .. | .. | .. | 780 |
| United Kingdom.. | .. | .. | .. | 4,800 |
| United States .. | .. | .. | .. | 5,865 |

A few people in India are fabulously wealthy, including those who have inherited a kingdom or a great tract of land, or have made fortunes in large trading operations. Most of these men live in cities or towns, but the village money-lenders grow very rich, lending money at extremely high rates of interest and reaping huge profits on grain and other merchandise. They buy grain when it is cheap, most people having no place to store it, and sell it at high prices at sowing time, or just before the harvest. The rich, seeking to amass treasure hoards, are responsible for the huge imports of gold into India.² The three most common forms of investment in the villages are land, jewellery, and coins of gold and silver. The amount of capital that is unproductively sunk in jewellery and coin causes India great loss.³ Side by side with a few men of wealth, are millions who have barely enough for two or three good meals a day, and millions more who never have even that.

In conclusion, much of the money for the betterment and extension of village education will have to come from the more wealthy people of India, and from provincial funds, for the ordinary villager cannot afford much for education, since he has little or nothing beyond the barest necessities of existence. This is because his production is very low; much of what he earns is taken from him by landlords,

¹ These assets include the value of land, buildings, furniture, gold, silver, live stock, factories, and other property. (Sir M. Visvesvaraya, *Reconstructing India*, p. 34.)

² From 1840 to 1911 the net imports of gold were 3.5 billion rupees, or one-tenth of the whole world's production during that time. (Sir James Wilson, address before East India Association of London, June 14, 1911.)

³ "A wonderful era of prosperity awaits the country the moment that investment becomes anything like as general a practice as it is in England and France." (*India in 1923*, p. 119.)

money-lenders and grain dealers; and he spends some of his income on things that bring no adequate return. The main reasons for production being low are that: 92 per cent. of them are illiterate; 72 per cent. of the population are engaged in the precarious occupation of agriculture; the climate is at times very hot; the rainfall is uncertain and poorly distributed throughout the year; the soil is infertile in many places, and where fertile the population is extremely dense; the land holdings are both uneconomically small and fragmented into isolated plots to a ruinous degree; the live stock often cause loss to their owners; the agricultural practices and implements are highly inefficient; village industries are poorly organized, and on the whole are losing ground; the customary methods of work are inefficient; much profitable labour is prevented by caste rules; individual initiative is weakened by the caste and the joint family care for able-bodied drones; the common forms of saving are unproductive; skilled medical assistance is almost lacking.

E. HOW FAR IS CHILD LABOUR NECESSARY?

Of each 100 people in India, 47 are returned as workers increasing the family income; for individuals over 15 years, the figure is about 70. About two-thirds of all the males are actual workers, and nearly one-third of the female. The only occupations in which there are over a million women earning money for their families are the following:

| | | | |
|-----------------------------------|----|----|------------|
| Ordinary cultivators ¹ | .. | .. | 19 million |
| Farm servants and field labourers | .. | .. | 12 " |
| Labourers and unspecified workers | .. | .. | 2 " |
| Cotton spinning and weaving | .. | .. | 1 " |

Among the people raising stock in the villages, the Census says that 69 per cent. are wage earners instead of the 47 per cent. for all occupations; with other village callings similar conditions prevail. It has been found that

¹ In farming operations, men do nearly all the ploughing and threshing, while the women have the larger share of the transplanting and weeding.

prosperous areas do not necessarily have smaller numbers of dependents.

The village of Gunga, about ninety miles west of Madras, offers an example of the very high proportion of persons working for their living in the rural areas. Out of the 64 families surveyed by the writer, 62 per cent. of the children between 7 and 16 were wage earners, 90 per cent. of people between 16 and 50, and 54.3 per cent. of the people over 50. Of the Christians and *Adi-Dravidas*¹ over 68.5 per cent. were working. Three-quarters of all the boys from 7 to 16, and half the girls, were working.

Gunga is typical of the villages where, under the present organization of the economic life, the amount of production is so low and the interest rate so high that there is no other way to keep the families going than to have all the able-bodied adults and children work for money. Very commonly the question as to whether a poor family is solvent depends on the number of working children.² Probably from one-quarter to one-half of the children in most of the villages of India add to the family income during part of the year. Wherever stern economic circumstance requires these millions of boys and girls to labour, their work needs to be directed into channels which will be helpful and educative to them. At the same time, there is a call to hasten the day when child labour can be eliminated, so that all children will receive full-time education, at least through the middle stage.

F. WHAT FORCES MAKE FOR CHANGE AND IMPROVEMENT ?

"The coming of the railway and the steamship," says the *Indian Industrial Commission Report* (p. 2.), "the opening of the Suez Canal, and the extension of peace and security by the growth of the British power, have brought about very great changes. In earlier times, every village not only grew most of its food, but either provided from

¹ Many of these dependents were physically incapable of hard labour. Twenty of them were girls and women. *Adi-Dravidas* is a new term for the *panchamas* or outcastes.

² See *Indian Journal of Economics*, III, Part 4, p. 459.

its own resources or obtained from close at hand its few simple wants." The railway mileage of India grew from 5,369 in 1872, to 38,038 in 1924. Between 1901 and 1924 the goods carried rose from 43 to 98·2 million tons, and the number of passengers from 195 to 599 millions, nine-tenths of whom travel third class.¹ Some of the changes in rural life brought about by the growth of transportation facilities and exports, according to the *Industrial Commission*, are:

An increasing degree of local specialization in particular crops, especially in those grown for export. . . . Markets have sprung up on or near the railway, where the foreign exporters or the larger Indian collecting firms have their agencies, and the ryot is now not far behind hand in his knowledge of the fluctuations in the world prices of the principal crops which he grows. Improved means of communications have had another important effect in altering the nature of the famines, to which so large a part of India is exposed, and in lessening the disastrous results.

The Indian villager does not change his permanent residence, except under the strongest economic or social provocation. Ninety per cent. of the people are found in the districts in which they were born. But during slack agricultural months many of the villagers in certain areas go to work in the factories or mines of the neighbouring towns.² Others go for longer times, largely from Bihar and the United Provinces, to more or less distant parts of India, such as to the Bombay factories, the tea plantations of Assam, or the rice mills and oil wells of Burma. In addition, a million persons have gone from India to other parts of the British Empire, two-thirds of them being men.³ The most common destinations are: tea gardens of Ceylon, the rubber plantations of the Malay States, South

¹ *India in 1922*, p. 181. *India Year Book 1925*, p. 683. The mileage in Great Britain in 1923 was 20,314. India, with one-seventh of the mileage of the United States, carries four-sevenths as many passengers.

² "There has not yet grown up in India an industrial population permanently rooted in the towns. It is still largely migratory, returning from time to time for more or less lengthy periods to field work in the villages, which remain the real home." (Sir Valentine Chirol, *India, Old and New*, p. 270.)

³ In the Malay States four-fifths of the Indians are males.



BARGAINING AT A VILLAGE FAIR

Here are sold the necessities of life produced nearby or brought from a distance.



THE COUNCIL OF A CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY

The success of this movement depends not on clothes, but on integrity, thrift and careful guidance.

Africa, East Africa, the West Indies and Fiji. Most of the migrants, those going nearby as well as those starting to distant places, come from the poorest and most down-trodden classes in the village, who seek freedom and larger earnings.¹

India has potential resources that, if well-developed, could make her people economically strong, and give her sons and daughters the education they need. The highest development of India's man power and the fullest utilization of her great natural stores of wealth, need to go hand in hand.² As to minerals, "India has the cheapest coal in the world, for she owns thick seams at shallow depths, and her labour is cheap."³ The country has iron ores of superior quality, situated not far from coal and limestone deposits.⁴ Iron smelting was at one time a widespread industry, and India was famed for the high quality of her iron. India is one of the two leading manganese-producing countries of the world. The Kolar Gold Fields yield annually twenty-five to thirty million rupees' worth of gold. There are also valuable supplies of other minerals and of oil. Two very potential reserves, at present scarcely touched, will be released when India's soil fertility is hus-

¹ Of the Indians outside of India who specified the province of their birth, 85 per cent. come from Madras, where the proportion of the depressed classes is specially large.

² "India is not a country doomed to poverty by lack of natural resources. It is rather a country doomed to poverty because it has not taken the trouble to acquire the mental and moral equipment necessary to escape from poverty. Both public and private effort are necessary in order that India may acquire this equipment." (Dr. Gilbert Slater, *Young Men of India*, December, 1919.)

³ *India in 1919*, p. 73.

⁴ "It is a somewhat chastening reflection that the creation of the one great metallurgical industry of India has been due not to British but to Indian capital and enterprise. . . . Not till Messrs. Tata's American prospectors had explored this region did the Government of India realize that untold mineral wealth lay there, within 150 miles of Calcutta, almost on the surface of the soil, and not until the pressure of the Great War and the inability of India to draw any longer upon British industry for the most vital supplies compelled them to turn to Jamshedpur, do they seem to have at all appreciated what an enterprise, that owed little or nothing to them, meant to India and the Empire." (Chirol, *India, Old and New*, p. 247.)

banded, and when productive investment replaces hoarding.

India's spices, drugs, fabrics and dyes gave the impetus to the marvellous age of discovery which led to the finding of the New World and the rise of democracy, yet many centuries earlier her precious stones, metal objects and muslins had been known to the Egyptians, Greeks and Romans. The country is now on the eve of an industrial awakening, and has been ranked by the League of Nations as one of the eight states of chief industrial importance. The cotton factories produce annually over a billion and a half yards of woven goods, and the jute manufactures in 1921 were worth over half a billion rupees.

The co-operative movement is one of the most important means of calling India's resources into play. A rural co-operative credit society is formed by the landowners of a village, and some of the workers, agreeing to pool their permanent resources as security on which to borrow money. This security is enhanced by the society's being on an unlimited liability basis. After the registrar has found conditions satisfactory and has registered the society, it can borrow, at reasonable rates of interest, from a central bank, and make loans to its members up to a fixed limit. Since all the members are jointly responsible for the liabilities of the society, they learn to take care that it is well run, that money is wisely spent, and that all debts are promptly repaid. The unlimited liability co-operative credit societies offer safeguards against reckless borrowing: the society does business only within the village or hamlet in which every man knows all his fellows; a man who would borrow must justify the use he would make of the money, and must adhere to his purpose; everyone makes sure that repayments are prompt and full, for he knows that anyone's default is his loss. The co-operative movement has grown very rapidly in India, as can be seen from these figures:

| | 1909-10 | 1919-20 | 1922-23 |
|---------------------------|---------|---------|---------|
| Number of societies | 3,498 | 40,772 | 53,787 |
| Thousands of members .. | 227 | 1,521 | 2,095 |

Of India's co-operative societies, whose capital totals twenty crores, eleven-twelfths are among agriculturists. It has been

calculated that these men save two million rupees a year in interest by borrowing from the societies instead of from the money-lenders.¹ Some of the good results of the different kinds of co-operation are: 28 per cent. of the members in the Punjab are entirely free from debt: litigation and extravagance are both diminishing; land is being redeemed; the cattle are stronger; drinking is lessened; a sense of common citizenship is being created; and education is being fostered.²

Although credit societies have come first and have been fundamental, co-operative societies for other purposes are now being formed.³ Such non-credit societies, if developed, will go a long way toward the solution of the problems connected with production, marketing, live stock, farm equipment, and village industries. Organizations of tenants, agricultural labourers and others to protect their interests, although only recently started, have assumed great importance.⁴

Well managed co-operative societies help to give the

¹ Even non-members benefit, for the rate of interest for the area is brought down. The proportion of loans and deposits from non-members nearly doubled between 1915 and 1919.

² *India in 1919*, p. 101 f.

³ The Bombay Presidency in 1922 had 118 co-operative societies with other than credit functions, including: the marketing of produce and the supply of manure, seed and implements, and for breeding and dairy purposes. The Naogaon Ganja Cultivators' Co-operative Society, Ltd., of Bengal, has the following departments: credit, industrial (raw materials for weavers and marketing finished products), cattle insurance, stores, farm, sanitation (including three dispensaries), education, and roads. Addressing this society, the Registrar of Co-operative Societies of Bengal said (December 11, 1918): "You have found from one year's work that the middlemen got two-thirds of the market value of the crop, and you, who rent the land and toil to grow the crop, got one-third of the value."

"The intimate connection between co-operation and the improvement of agriculture and cottage industries cannot be too strongly emphasized." (*Indian Industrial Commission, 1916-18*, p. 203.)

⁴ "In various parts of India during the year 1921, the movement for tenants' unions has become increasingly prominent. In many cases, these unions have confined themselves to collective bargaining with local landholders and overlords, and to securing improved conditions of tenure and labour for their members." (*India in 1922*, p. 199.)

villagers something beyond the margin of existence and thus to increase the amount that they might pay toward education, because: they increase production by furnishing capital for better cattle and improved implements; they make fairer the prices received by the cultivator for his grain; they reduce the rates of interest; tend to check extravagance; moreover, purchasing societies enable the villager to buy cheaply the goods that he needs. The spirit of co-operation in progressive ventures is what rural India needs above all else. If it is present, India's great and varied potential resources can be developed so as to furnish the means for steadily improving education.

CHAPTER II

THE HEALTH SITUATION

A. What Vital Statistics Are Reported?—B. Why Are Diseases So Widespread and Destructive?—C. How Can Good Health be Promoted?

A. WHAT VITAL STATISTICS ARE REPORTED?

INDIA's birth-rate is high compared with that in Western Europe. The following table shows the number of births (excluding still-births) per thousand people:¹

| | | AVERAGE FOR TEN YEARS | AVERAGE FOR LAST TWO AVAILABLE YEARS |
|----------------|----|--------------------------|---|
| India | .. | .. 35·3 | 31·9 1921, 1922 |
| Japan | .. | .. 34·2 | 32·8 1916, 1917 |
| United Kingdom | .. | .. 21·1 | 19·5 1918 1919 |
| New York State | .. | .. 23·2 | 21·7 1919, 1920 |

Two important reasons for the high birth-rate in most parts of India are, that marriage is virtually universal, and that children are usually born at the earliest age that it is physiologically possible. The variations from year to year and among the different provinces are wide:

| | | | 1920 | 1921 |
|-------------------------|----|----|------|------|
| Lowest provincial rate | .. | .. | 28·4 | 27·0 |
| Average for India | .. | .. | 33·0 | 32·2 |
| Highest provincial rate | .. | .. | 42·9 | 41·5 |

While the birth-rate is fairly high, the death-rate is extremely high, exceeding that of almost any other

¹ Most of the figures for India come from the *Indian Census*. At best the reports contain inaccuracies and understatements, even for the registration area which includes three-fourths of India's population. Most of the figures for other countries come from the *Statesman's Year Book* or *World Almanac*. The ten-year averages are quoted from Sir M. Visvesvaraya, *Reconstructing India*.

country for which the number of deaths is accurately recorded:

| | | | AVERAGE FOR TEN YEARS | LAST AVAILABLE YEAR |
|----------------|----|----|--------------------------|------------------------|
| India | .. | .. | 33.4 | 24.0 1921 |
| Japan | .. | .. | 21.9 | 21.6 1917 |
| United Kingdom | .. | .. | 14.6 | 12.8 1920 |
| United States | . | .. | 14.0 | 13.0 1919 |

India's average length of life is about 25 years, as compared with about 50 years for the United States. As with the birth-rate, there is a heavy fluctuation from year to year and large differences between the provinces:

| | | 1919 | 1920 | 1921 |
|-------------------------|----|------|------|------|
| Lowest provincial rate | .. | 28.3 | 21.8 | 20.2 |
| Average for India | .. | 35.9 | 30.8 | 30.6 |
| Highest provincial rate | .. | 50.1 | 40.1 | 44.0 |

Except in 1918, the death-rate for rural India has been lower than that in the towns, especially in time of plague and cholera. In 1921 the difference was three per thousand. As to the different religions, the death-rate of Muhammadans and Indian Christians is generally lower than that of the Hindus. The nearness to the starvation line of the mass of the villagers is shown by the fact that the birth-rate and death-rate both fluctuate violently in India with the available quantity of food and amount of rainfall.¹ Similar seasonal variations can also be noticed. The total deaths in India from all causes in recent years have numbered (among the three-quarters of the population who live in the registration areas):

| | | | |
|---------------|----|----|-------------------------|
| 1917 | .. | .. | 7,803,832 |
| 1918 | .. | .. | 14,895,801 ² |
| 1919 | .. | .. | 8,554,178 |
| 1920 | .. | .. | 7,355,654 |
| 1921 | .. | .. | 7,385,112 |
| In five years | .. | .. | 45,994,577 |

¹ *Imperial Gazetteer*, Indian Empire, I, p. 509.

² Influenza in this year carried off well over seven million people within the registration area, and over twelve million during this and the following year throughout India.

Even more striking than the death-rate of the general population is that of infants under a year old.¹ The infant mortality in 1920 was 414 per 1,000 in Bengal, 366 in Bombay, 365 in the Punjab, and 322 in Madras, as compared with 97 in England and Wales in 1918.

Most of the deaths are from causes the operation of which can be prevented or very greatly lessened. The reasons for mortality are reported not for all India, but for the registration area which contains three-fourths of the population. The death-rates per thousand of population from different kinds of disease are enormous :

| | | | 1920 | 1922 |
|-------------------------|----|----|------|------|
| Fevers ² | .. | .. | 20·7 | 19·7 |
| Cholera | .. | .. | 0·6 | 1·9 |
| Plague | .. | .. | 0·4 | 0·3 |
| Respiratory diseases | .. | .. | 1·4 | 1·4 |
| Dysentery and diarrhoea | .. | .. | 0·9 | 1·0 |
| Smallpox | .. | .. | 0·4 | 0·2 |
| All other causes, about | .. | .. | 6·0 | 6·0 |

For every individual who dies of fever there are many who are affected with fever for long periods, with the result that their vitality and efficiency are seriously lowered. Fever is more prevalent in the villages than in the towns; the rural death-rate from fever for Madras in 1918 was reported as

¹ The heavy infant mortality rates are ascribed by the Madras Sanitary Commissioner to the following causes: women in labour are attended by ignorant village midwives; they do not take advantage of the services of trained midwives in the places where the latter are available; tetanus, caused by the use of dirty knives and scissors; the drugging of newborn infants with crude mercurial preparations; and other injurious methods of treatment. (*1918 Report*, p. 6 f.) The *Madras Census* (1911, Part I, p. 22) says: "Midwifery in India is still in an awful condition. Untold misery and unnumbered unnecessary deaths are meted out to the parturient women of this country by these untrained and unclean practitioners. I do not exaggerate. Every medical practitioner in this country will substantiate this statement." In Kodaikanal, 16 of the 35 non-epidemic deaths of infants in 1920 were directly traced to the effects of liquor, being due either to underdevelopment of the babies through the intemperance of parents and grandparents, or else to poisoning by liquor given to the nursing mother. (Report of a special investigation on infant mortality, 1922.)

² Fever is the real cause of death in only part of these cases, since those making the record know nothing of diagnosis, and easily confuse the symptom with the cause.

nearly double that in the urban areas. The malarial fevers are most common, and the general use of quinine, which is prepared in moderately cheap forms, and better sanitation, would go far toward doing away with these. Kala-azar can also be treated.

Hookworm is another disease that saps the vitality of millions of the villagers, even though of itself it rarely causes death. Careful investigations of its prevalence have been made, mostly among the lower classes, but not on a very broad scale.¹ The villagers are specially liable to this devitalizing disease, since they habitually walk barefoot over the ground around the villages that are infected with hookworm. The specific is well known and easily given.

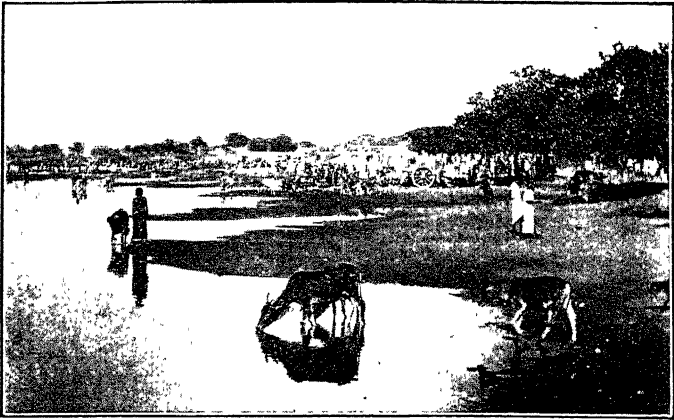
Blindness and eye diseases are far more common than in Western Europe. Congenital deaf-mutism is about as prevalent as in Europe. The amount of recorded insanity in India is a sixteenth of that in England and Wales. The figures per 100,000 for 1921 are :

| | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|----|----|----|----|----|-----|
| Blind | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 152 |
| Congenital deaf-mutes | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 60 |
| Lepers | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 32 |
| Insane | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 28 |

B. WHY ARE DISEASES SO WIDESPREAD AND DESTRUCTIVE ?

There are two basic reasons that render disease as widespread and destructive as it is, namely, poverty and ignorance. Their action is usually indirect, being such as to strengthen the force of other causes. The wretchedly low economic condition of the ordinary villager is discussed in the preceding chapter. Economic distress leads to a lowering of the vitality and of the resistance to disease. The grinding, cramping poverty makes for bad housing, an insufficient amount of food, unclean water supply, items which will be taken up later. The condition of just living from hand to mouth also means that the children have to labour much of

¹ Labourers and others tested for the disease have been found to have it in the following percentages : Bombay, 40 ; Punjab, 60 ; United Provinces, 70 to 84 ; Bengal, 80 ; thirteen districts of Madras, 97 to 100.



A STAGNANT POOL USED FOR DRINKING

The schools can teach that epidemics are spread, not by angry goddesses,
but by drinking contaminated water



AN OUTCASTE COUPLE AND THEIR HUT

Such windowless, insanitary dwellings menace the health of the whole village.

the time.¹ Although the labour that children do in the villages is not necessarily harmful, the heavy round of routine duties, without any good opportunity to play, must often hurt the physique. Still another way in which the bitter economic pressure adversely affects health is the fatalistic lethargy and hopelessness it tends to produce.

The second basic reason for the prevalence of disease is the utter illiteracy that prevents the villagers from learning of helpful, new ideas regarding disease, sanitation, and food. Health pamphlets are put out by the government, but they cannot be read by the common man for whom they are meant. Lack of knowledge also makes the village people a prey to the crudest and most injurious superstitious practice in cases of disease.

In addition to the two general reasons given above for the deadliness of disease, namely, poverty and ignorance, there are other causes which work more directly. One of the most serious of these is the wretched housing conditions. In Bombay City, during 1921, 83 per cent. of babies born in single-roomed houses died under a year; 32 per cent. of those in two-roomed houses; 19 per cent. in three-roomed houses; and 13 per cent. where the family had four or more rooms.² The kind of house that the villager uses varies with the materials available and the amount of protection needed from the variations in temperature. The great housing evils are the small number of rooms, the small size and crowded conditions of the dwellings,³ their lack of

¹ Lyons, who made a careful study of the subsistence standard of the working people of Indore, based on the Central India jail standard of food, came to the conclusion that "this subsistence standard cannot at present (1920) be fully attained by the labouring classes under existing rates of wages—nor has it been reached since the beginning of the War—as long as there are dependent children or women in the family. To secure it, every member must work without loss of time." (*Indian Journal of Economics*, III, Part 4, p. 459.)

² Shirras, *Working Class Budgets*, p. 26: "If we except certain tracts in the east and south of the country . . . the congestion in the areas actually inhabited is probably as great in the villages as in all but the most congested towns." (*Census, 1921*, p. 49.)

³ A man and his wife, their son and his wife, other children, two buffaloes, some cattle, some goats, and half a dozen chickens, are sometimes all crowded into a single hut overnight. Very commonly, the cattle sleep in the same room as their owners.

sanitation, and the fact that they are closely massed together. The village labouring classes live in single-roomed huts, generally one hut for a family. The joint family is still common. Well built stone or brick houses are few in the villages, being owned only by the well-to-do, who if they can afford it build their houses around a courtyard.

The amount of food needed for health, strength and energy is never secured by the poor villagers owing to the narrowness of their resources; and the same is true of a majority of the villagers before the harvests. The food of the typical villager is wanting in variety, for he can afford little except grain. When he can, he buys a small amount of curry stuffs and spices, and some have meat on special occasions, as at a marriage feast.

The fact that the supply of drinking water for the villages is frequently polluted is another cause of the high mortality. The villagers are in the habit of asking no questions about the purity of their water. It sometimes comes from the streams and irrigation channels, into which pour all kinds of impurities and in which the village washerman pounds the dirt out of the soiled clothes. There is a belief that running water, even after a very short distance, purifies everything that it touches. The drinking water frequently comes from a well that is unprotected against pollution.¹ Or else it may come from a stagnant pond, where the people bathe and wash, and where the buffaloes wallow. In all cases, when a water-borne epidemic, like cholera, strikes down any one in a village, it spreads with great rapidity to his neighbours.

The extent of the use of intoxicating drinks and drugs may be gauged by the fact that in 1918 the excise

¹ "Everywhere, save in a few of the largest towns, all sewage and liquid and solid waste are committed to the soil for disposal, either by deposit on the surface or by burial, and this generally in close proximity to the inhabited site. The effect of heavy and continuous rain, which is far less penetrating in proportion to its quantity than outside the tropics, is to wash the accumulated soil impurities into the water-sources and to leave stagnant collections of water where drainage is defective." (*Imperial Gazetteer*, I, p. 503.)

revenue (including the products of the hemp plant) amounted to over ten million pounds sterling, or 9 per cent. of the total revenue. In addition, the opium revenue came to more than three million pounds. Intoxicating drinks do most harm to the poorer villagers, who can least afford them and indulge more heavily than the richer classes. In 1920 and 1921 the non-co-operators made a determined effort, with considerable success, to cut down government revenue by closing and picketing the liquor shops.

The custom of early marriage is one of the great factors raising the death-rate, especially that of infants and young mothers. Immature girls, unable to stand the strain involved, are made to give birth to weakly, under-vitalized babies. The practice followed by the Moslems and wealthier Hindus of shutting up women in their homes, from marriage until death, also works great injury.¹ Again, the customs connected with birth bring many deaths in their train, the mothers being kept by themselves without water for a number of days, usually with little or no attempt at physical cleanliness, since they are regarded as being ceremonially defiled.

Much of the present appalling loss of life can be prevented by concerted measures for better sanitation, together with health education. The Rural Reconstruction Department at Bolpur, which has done some very striking work, makes the statement that 75 per cent. of the diseases and ill health of that area are "due to simple causes over which the villagers, with a little stimulation and encouragement from outside, are quite capable of obtaining complete control."²

¹ The effects of this custom on the mortality from plague is seen from the fact that during the winter of 1910-11 in North India, where the high class women are shut off from the public, the deaths among women were 22.5 per cent. more than those of men. (F. Lenwood, *Social Problems in the East*, p. 92.)

² *The Department's Health Programme for a Bengal Village*, says (p. 2): "When 80 per cent. of the population of the surrounding villages was down with malaria after the rainy season of 1923, the village of Modhpur was wholly free, due to the simple measures taken by their own troop of scouts."

C. HOW CAN GOOD HEALTH BE PROMOTED?

Although medicine and surgery were highly developed in India at an early date, indigenous medical knowledge and surgical skill are limited to extremely few men, and have stagnated, though the large empiric pharmacopœia is of value. Fasts, spells and fragments of Sanskrit texts play an important part in treatment.

Since modern, scientific medicine was introduced into India, the progress made in treating the diseases of villagers has been very slow, except that considerable work has been done to combat epidemics, such as smallpox, plague, and malaria. According to the Sanitary Commissioner of the Government of India, the organized health staff covers but a mere fraction of India's population, and only an insignificant proportion of the people who die are cared for at any stage of their final illness by persons possessing adequate medical qualifications.¹

Nearly all the hospitals, and a large proportion of the dispensaries, are in the towns;² and the villagers are suspicious of them. If they could be extended more widely the villagers would resort to them increasingly.³ In some areas, village midwives are brought into central hospitals and given short and simple courses of instruction, being encouraged to do so by small stipends. It is encouraging that the public is becoming increasingly interested in good health and in the movement for child welfare.

Little success has been attained in removing the causes of disease in the villages, although village sanitation Acts have been passed in most of the provinces and although local authorities have sanitary functions. The housing conditions are still bad, and the water supply is often polluted. Systems of drainage are unknown; and the villagers

¹ *1917 Report*, p. 39. Someone has estimated that over a hundred million people in India live beyond the reach of all skilled medical assistance.

² In 1922 these institutions treated 36,875,229 patients.

³ *Industrial Commission*, p. 191.

are both ignorant and careless about good sanitation.¹ Adjoining villages have been banded together and village committees formed for sanitary purposes in some provinces, but with varying success. Even where all the caste people may be supplied with reasonably pure water often the outcastes can get none of it, for they cannot use the public wells since their touch is thought to defile not only the well but all who would later drink from it.

The small amount of the hygienic work done in the villages, in relation to what waits to be done, has been one of the causes of the small and halting increase of population, in spite of the high birth-rate. The population of India as a whole was practically stationary in the ten years preceding 1901 and those preceding 1921, the real increases in recent decades being:

| DECADE | PER CENT INCREASE | | | |
|-----------|-------------------|----|----|-----|
| 1881-1891 | .. | .. | .. | 9.6 |
| 1891-1901 | . | .. | .. | 1.4 |
| 1901-1911 | .. | .. | .. | 6.4 |
| 1911-1921 | .. | .. | . | 1.2 |

The education of the village children in health cannot, under the present circumstances, be done in the home or by any other agency than the village school. Moreover, if the school does not inculcate better health habits, and secure more sanitary conditions, its other teaching will be fruitless.

The adults also sorely need health education. A great deal of this can be given indirectly through the children in school, and also directly, if the teacher has time for such work. In all his work for health the teacher can secure aid from, and can co-operate with, provincial and local officials, who are charged with the promotion of good health.

¹ In the towns, excluding the presidency cities, over thirty-five million rupees have been spent on water supplies and ten million more on drainage, but the villagers have benefitted scarcely at all by similar measures.

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL CONSERVATISM AND ASPIRATIONS

A. What Are the Dominant Social Customs?—B. What Tendencies Are Found in Popular Religion?—C. In What Ways Does Caste Stereotype Village Life?—D. How Is Village Organization Changing?—E. What Do Social and Political Developments Demand of Education?

A. WHAT ARE THE DOMINANT SOCIAL CUSTOMS?

THE Indian villager is surrounded on all sides by a complex web of *dharma*, or social obligation, which furnishes his standards and controls his actions. Like the farmer of every land, he adheres firmly to the ways of his forefathers. Custom, strengthened as it is by the sanctions of Hinduism and the authority of the village elders, often prevents reason from guiding action. "The Indian mind," admits the nationalist reformer, Lajpat Rai, "has for some centuries been more or less in a state of captivity."¹ Though the hold of tradition is weakening in some places, most village matters are still decided, not so much on their own merits or by majority vote, as on the basis of custom or the pronouncement of some authority.

The wedding customs are very strict, and marriage is required by society and religion. With almost no exception, every one has been married. Infant and child mar-

¹ *National Education in India*, p. 62. He continues, "The strict regulated life of the *shastras* and the *shara*, the rule of the priest, the lack of opportunities for education, the constantly disturbed conditions of the country, the philosophical pessimism of the creeds and the cults, the belittling of life by centuries of monasticism and asceticism, all had for some time combined to make life in India static rather than dynamic."



A WEDDING AMONG THE OUTCASTES

The villagers have special months for marriages when many share the prolonged excitement and feasting, and the fathers are heavily involved in debt.



HUSKING RICE BY POUNDING

India's women have to do much heavy drudgery, and spend long hours in the preparation of meals.

riage is still prevalent, as can be seen from the following startling comparisons with Western Europe:¹

| | | PER CENT. OF MALES UNDER TWENTY WHO ARE MARRIED | PER CENT. OF FEMALES UNDER TWENTY WHO ARE MARRIED ² |
|-------|----|---|--|
| India | .. | 9.0 | 25.0 |
| Italy | .. | 0.1 | 1.0 |

Early marriage is enjoined by most of the higher castes, but is attacked by reformers³ on the grounds that: it takes away the opportunity for education and the natural formation of balanced character during adolescence; it plunges girls prematurely into the strain of child bearing; it kills and cripples countless girl mothers, and it brings millions of weaklings into the world.

The bride and groom do not see each other before the wedding, the selection being made by parents and relatives, who must scrupulously follow the dictates of custom. The astrologer must give a favourable verdict on the selection of a mate, and a dowry is usually paid. As a usual thing, the betrothal is binding and takes place in infancy; the marriage proper is performed in childhood; and the consummation of marriage takes place when the girl is from 12 to 14, and the boy is 16 or over. The marriage rites differ radically according to the religion, the caste, and the part of the country. Except in the rarest circumstances, a marriage is the occasion for feasts of highly prized dishes, for lavish use of sweet perfumes, bright jewellery, and elaborately embroidered clothes, and for prolonged social festivities. Marriage for the Hindu is of the utmost religious importance, being not a personal contract, but an eternal sacrament on which the whole wel-

¹ See *1921 Census*, Part I, p. 154.

² Eight and a half million wives are under 15 years of age. Out of every 1,000 girls of each period, the following numbers are married: under 5 years, 11; from 5 to 10 years, 88; from 10 to 15 years, 382.

³ Mysore has forbidden the marriage of girls under eight years of age, and the marriage of girls under fourteen with men over fifty. Baroda forbade the marriage of girls under nine in 1901, but thousands of exemptions have been granted, and thousands of men have been fined for violating the law.

fare of all the family and their ancestors depends.¹ More wives than one are permitted to both Hindus and Moslems, though monogamy is common unless the first wife has not borne a son. The Hindus allow no divorce, but a Moslem may divorce his wife if he repays the dowry.

The widows of India number over twenty-seven millions, of whom a third of a million are under fifteen. One-sixth of the females are widows, as against one-thirteenth of the females of England and Wales. Orthodox Hindu custom positively prohibits widows from remarrying, no matter how young they may be. They are thought to have been deprived of their husbands on account of some grave sins in a previous incarnation. Accordingly, they are deprived of any beautiful clothing and jewellery, and are generally expected to undergo strict fasts and to become household drudges.

The Indian woman remains all her life subject to man,² but she is commonly treated with honour and respect by her own family.³ She exemplifies the virtues of chastity, submission to her husband, willingness to undergo any suffering for him, and a sense of mystical idealism.⁴ Far from being a nonentity, a woman may be the strongest force in the home,⁵ and rule strictly, not only her young daughters-in-law, but her husband and sons as well. She has, for

¹ The ancestors cannot rest easily in heaven unless the ceremonies of the first year are properly performed and an annual offering of grain is made by a male heir.

² Manu ruled as follows: "Let her be in subjection to her father in her childhood, to her husband in her youth, to her sons when her husband has died; let a woman never enjoy independence." (5, 148.) Mr. Gandhi has said, "By sheer force of a vicious custom even the most ignorant and worthless men have been enjoying a superiority over women which they do not deserve and ought not to have." (Quoted in the *India Social Reformer*, October 29, 1922, p. 135.)

³ This is in accord with the precepts of Manu :

"Honour to the faithful woman
Be by loving husband paid.
Where a woman is not honoured
Vain is sacrificial rite." (3, 55-6.)

⁴ *Calcutta University Commission Report*, I, 134. See *Poems by Indian Women*, N. Macnicol, Editor.

⁵ *Calcutta University Commission Report*, I, 133.

centuries, been allowed to hold property independently of her husband.¹

Forty million women in India are said to be confined for life within their own homes in the *zenanas* (women's apartments) or behind the *parda* (veil or curtain). *Parda* was originally a Moslem custom, but in the North, and frequently in the South, certain classes of Hindus have adopted it. It makes the education of married girls and women expensive and well-nigh impossible, which is one reason why barely one female in a hundred is literate. In addition it cramps personality and undermines health.²

Many customs are closely intertwined with family life, for every orthodox Hindu must observe certain family rites, namely: the domestic sacraments, the veneration of ancestors, the worship of the family gods, the annual feasts and seasons of worship, and the proper ceremonies for disposing of the dead bodies.³ Sir Valentine Chirol says: "It is undoubtedly in the often dignified and beautiful relations which bind the Hindu family together, that Hinduism is seen at its best, and Hindu literature delights in describing and exalting them."⁴ The villagers commonly extend their family relationships far out to their collaterals; the prosperous ones willingly support even distant relatives. In the North, not only the clan, but sometimes the whole tribe, is considered as part of the family. The Brahmans and the people of many Hindu castes are often organized in joint families, which are communities living in one household, the members of which are all descended through males from a common male ancestor who holds supreme sway. Every member contributes to the common purse and is fed from the family funds. This form of social

¹ *Calcutta University Commission Report*, I, 139.

² Where women are behind the *parda*, investigations in certain places have shown the death-rate from tuberculosis to be 40 per cent. higher among women than men. (Dr. Arthur Lankester, *International Review of Missions*, April, 1917, p. 300.)

³ Among the higher Hindu groups the dead are usually cremated, although some sects and the Moslems bury their dead, and the lower castes often do so.

⁴ *India, Old and New*, p. 21.

organization, however, is now becoming less common. In Bengal, J. C. Jack's figures for the average size of a family in a whole district ranged from 5·7 persons for families in comfort, down to 4·5 for those in want.¹

It is customary to have elaborate feasts at weddings and in commemoration of funerals, in which the whole clan or the whole caste participates. The outcasts of the village are often given food or cloths in return for beating drums or other work. On such occasions a man is expected to show lavish expenditure, to keep up his standing, whether he can afford it or not.²

The customs of the marketplace involve long bargainings and conversations. The villagers, in addition to patronizing a small shop which very often is found in their own village, where the daily necessities of life can be bought, also crowd to the fairs that are held every week or ten days for a group of villages, at which prolonged bickerings take place over the necessities and petty luxuries of life.

Amusements of different kinds are held in the villages during the months when there is little field work. Often people will come in from surrounding villages and hamlets. Dramatic representations are given by travelling actors of the great and lengthy Indian epics of the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*, or of popular stories, like *Harischandra* or *Markanda*. They are interspersed with songs, dances and the buffooneries of a clown. A single play may be continued serially for a week or more; and frequently a performance lasts until dawn. In some places there are less formal amusements, for example, singing and dancing by the young men. Wrestling matches and other contests between the representatives of rival villages are still held. There are also numerous group games in different parts of India, which people enjoy when they play them, but this is only seldom.

¹ *The Economic Life of a Bengal District*, p. 151.

² It is a case where, in the words of Veblen, "unproductive consumption of goods is honourable, primarily as a mark of prowess and a perquisite of human dignity." (*Theory of the Leisure Class*, p. 69.) See Norman Russell, *Village Work in India*, p. 32.

The largest and most characteristic gatherings of India are on the occasion of religious festivals. Two or three millions gather at Allahabad every twelfth year for the *Mag Mela*, to bathe in the holy waters where the Jumna meets the Ganges; hither men, women and children, rich and poor, flock from town and village for hundreds and thousands of miles, in the effort to wash away their sins and to gain merit by giving to holy men and beggars. Similar festivals are also held elsewhere, and every temple has its feast days, when the people gather from the surrounding country to gain special petitions and good luck by worshipping, giving alms, bathing in dirty water, and helping to draw the great idol cars.¹ They also take pleasure in seeing the snake charmers and the men who undergo weird torments, and the rest of the sights, to say nothing of having a generally gay time.

The village school has a social function to perform in helping to mould rural life where it is imperfect, but any important change is opposed by an immense mass of conservative custom. The tendency toward immobility is strengthened on account of the cultivator's life being largely a fixed and narrow round of uninspiring drudgery. The teacher has an opening, when his time is sufficient, to promote gatherings of the villagers for purposes of recreation and sociability of mutual assistance and useful information.

The customs connected with the early marriage and seclusion of girls require modification, before most of them can secure a primary or middle education.

B. WHAT TENDENCIES ARE FOUND IN POPULAR RELIGION?

The villager's religious beliefs and practices go far toward moulding his social and educational life. In his

¹ "Disastrous effects on a large scale frequently follow on the congregation of vast numbers at places of pilgrimage, where the rites involve overcrowding, exposure, and the consumption of unwholesome, if sacred, food and water." (*Imperial Gazetteer, Indian Empire, I*, p. 501 f.)

mind, every act and custom is intimately connected with religion. He knows no distinction between sacred and secular. The atmosphere about him is surcharged with religion, the unseen world being a matter of deeper concern than the world of the senses. With good reason has India been described as a "god-intoxicated land."¹

The numbers of the adherents to the main religions found in the villages of India proper, and their literacy percentages are:²

| RELIGION | THOUSANDS | PER CENT. INCREASE 1881-1921 | PER CENT. OF LITERACY | |
|---------------------------|-----------|------------------------------------|-----------------------|---------|
| | | | MALES | FEMALES |
| Hindu .. | 216,735 | 14.9 | 13.0 | 1.6 |
| Moslem .. | 68,735 | 37.1 | 9.3 | 0.9 |
| Tribal .. | 9,775 | 48.8 | 1.6 | 0.1 |
| Christian ³ .. | 4,754 | 155.2 | 35.5 | 21.0 |
| Sikhs .. | 3,239 | 74.7 | 10.7 | 1.6 |
| All Others .. | 15,705 | | | |
| All Religions .. | 318,943 | 25.7 | 13.9 | 2.1 |

The history of these religions may be very briefly summarized as follows: Animism, or the worship of the spirits of being and objects, has existed in India for untold ages; in its most characteristic form it is now mainly followed by the aboriginal tribes and the depressed classes. Hinduism was introduced into India by the Aryan invaders over a thousand years before the Christian era; prominent points of the religion are noted below. Christianity was introduced into southwest India during the first or second

¹ "The European," says Meredith Townsend, "judges a creed by its results, declaring that if these are foolish or evil or inconvenient the creed is false. The Asiatic does not consider results at all, but only the accuracy or beauty of the thoughts generated in his own mind." (*Asia and Europe*, p. 29.)

² Of the religions not specified above, none is important in village life, since the 1,178,000 Jains are mostly confined to the cities, and the 102,000 Parsees and 22,000 Jews entirely so. The 11,571,000 Buddhists are practically all confined to Burma, since the religion has virtually died out in India proper. The reforming Arya Somajists number about a quarter of a million. Like the Christians, they have secured large numbers of adherents from the depressed classes. In the theistic Brahmo Somaj there are fewer than 6,000 people.

³ These figures include 176,000 Europeans and 113,000 Anglo-Indians.



CLIMBING TO A HILL TEMPLE

The villagers go on long pilgrimages to sacred places, where they shave their heads and perform other vows



A RIVER FESTIVAL AT MADURA

On such occasions huge throngs from far and near assemble on foot, in bullock carts and by train.

century A.D., where the Syrian Church still persists. The Roman Catholics arrived in the fourteenth century; they recognize caste. Protestants came in the eighteenth century; although originally recognizing caste, they scarcely at all do so now. There are two and a half times as many Christians as there were in 1881, largely on account of the accessions from the depressed classes.¹ Islam was introduced by settlers in the seventh century, and through military conquests in the eighth century; its adherents have had great political and martial power in India. At the present day, the majority intensely loathe Hindu idolatry and strongly adhere to their faith though they are not well versed in it. They have adopted early marriage from the Hindus, and occasionally observe Hindu festivals. Sikhism arose in India during the fifteenth century, as a revolt against Hindu idolatry and caste. Under one of its later *-gurus* (teachers), its energies were turned into military channels.

India's life is dominated by Hinduism, to which about seven out of every ten people render some degree of allegiance. It is a great and ancient system, containing philosophic and religious elements of high value, but also in its popular phases much that is mediocre, degraded and sensual.² The prevailing beliefs and practices of the mass of village Hindus are considered in the following pages, rather than the ideals of the religion at its best. Its great philosophies, its social rules, its ceremonies, stories and songs have tenaciously endured from the dim past, although the dynasties and empires of the Hindus crumbled before the Moslem power and although India was for centuries

¹ As to the effect of Christianity on living conditions, the Hindu Census Superintendent of Mysore reported: "The enlightening influence of Christianity is patent in the higher standard of comfort of the converts, and their sober, disciplined, and busy lives." (*Census 1911*, Mysore, p. 138.) "The strength of the Christian Church, with its wide educational organization, has done much to raise the standard of literacy in South India, especially in the States of Cochin and Travancore." (*Census 1921*, Part I, p. 178.)

² See *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* and *Encyclopaedia Britannica* on "Hinduism."

ravaged by warring armies. During these centuries, the religion under Brahman dominance has gradually evolved, showing immense powers of absorbing and adapting new ideas and practices, including much from the Dravidian inhabitants. Its organizing centre is not loyalty to a single individual, as in most other great religions, but its view of life, its gods, and especially its social system, for every Hindu is born in some caste, and no outside person can ever become a Hindu. In addition to being born a Hindu, an orthodox adherent must conform to rules and usages of his family and caste. Although no restrictions are placed on belief,¹ certain views have dominated the thought of practically all Hindus. In the words of Dr. Farquhar: "Here, then, we have the Hindu world-theory in all its permanent essentials: God real, the world worthless; the one God unknowable, the other gods not to be despised; the Brahmans with their *Vedas*, the sole religious authority; caste a divine institution, serving as the chief instrument of reward and punishment; man doomed to repeated birth and death, because all action leads to rebirth; world flight the only noble course for the awakened man, and the one hope of escape from the entanglements of sense and transmigration."² The completeness with which these ideas are grasped varies enormously, not only with the amount of education that men have had, but also with the extent to which they have been exposed to Christian influences and the religious ferment of the last hundred years. Pantheism has dominated Indian philosophy; theistic ideas created and still mould the thought of many Hindu sects;³ while the lives of most ignorant villagers have been controlled by a superstitious polytheism permeated by fear.⁴

¹ "The Indian, though much less tolerant than the European in the matter of his neighbour's acts, is far more so where his beliefs are concerned. Fearing many gods himself, he is quite ready to admit that there may be others of whom he has no ken." (Sir E. A. Gait, *1911 Census*.)

² *Crown of Hinduism*, p. 216.

³ See N. Macnicol, *Indian Theism*; J. N. Farquhar, *Crown of Hinduism*, Chapter VII, and *Modern Religious Movements*.

⁴ "The worship of at least ninety per cent. of the people of India in the present day is a worship of fear." (Monier-Williams, *Brah-*

The Hindu doctrines of transmigration¹ and *karma*, together with primeval tendencies toward fatalism, seem to have often cast a dark shadow over village life and to have enfeebled the power of resolute action. The individual is thought to be in the grip of inescapable, impersonal forces which control not only his fortunes, but in large measure his acts also, and which necessitate continued rebirths. The world is commonly conceived—except where ideas from Christian sources have wrought a change of view—as steadily degenerating from the age of complete virtue to the age which is three-quarters good, then to the half-

manism and Hinduism, p. 230.) He also wrote, "There is not an object in heaven or earth which a Hindu is not prepared to worship." The *Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad* (3, 9, 1) first gives the number of gods as 3,300,000, and then reduces the number to one.

The ordinary villager worships his gods with food, honey-mixture, perfumes, incense, the waving of lights and the ringing of bells. He can see his god's face, he can show his devotion by making offerings, he can pour out his sorrows and petitions, he can hear the reply, he can dance before the god in rapture, and return home protected from bad luck by having eaten part of the food offered to the idol. He worships a vivid, approachable person, and any idea of a single Creator back of the idols is likely to be very shadowy.

The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (XIII, p. 512b) says: "This survey of the Indian sects will have shown how little the character of the divine object of worship is calculated to exert that elevating and spiritual influence, so characteristic of true religious devotion. In all but a few of the minor groups, fervour is only too apt to degenerate into that very state of sexual excitation which devotional exercises should surely tend to repress." The Indian Penal Code prohibits obscenity (Section 292), except that which is connected with religion.

¹ By the doctrine of transmigration, souls are believed to be emanations from the divine spirit which are incarnated innumerable times into the body of a man, a woman, an animal, or even a plant. The cycle continues ceaselessly, and the soul has no rest from suffering until it finds some means of release from rebirth, when it returns to its original divine source. The doctrine of *karma* means, in brief, that all action of men and gods inevitably works out in new life. All that a man has, and does, and is, springs from the inexorable retribution for his good and bad deeds done in previous existences. The expiation works itself out not only in passive experiences, but also in actions, which in turn require further expiation. Good acts, no less than bad, tie one down to the endless chain of rebirths. Each soul works out its own destiny unaided by the good deeds of any other soul.

and-half time, and finally into the present age, when only a quarter of the good survives.¹

Hinduism also influences the villagers toward an exaltation of ascetism and a profound conviction of the vain and transitory nature of the world that they see and feel.² This is evidenced by the reverence paid to the tremendous numbers of religious mendicants and ascetics, whose renunciation is regarded as the highest form of religion.

Pantheism, when it is uncompromising and unchecked by standards of *dharma* or duty, has tended to break down the moral distinctions between right and wrong. If any one on earth advances so far as to be absorbed into the Absolute, "he shakes off his good deeds, he shakes off his evil deeds."³

However, primitive demonolatry and animism, with their appeal to fear, wield far more influence over the ordinary villagers than does abstract pantheism. An overwhelming terror of the village goddesses and angry ghosts and evil spirits retains a tenacious hold, not merely over the aboriginal tribes and the depressed classes, but over many

¹ "To the Hindu mind the universe is only a passing stage in an endless round of birth, growth, decay and death. Human effort and prayer are powerless to avert the ruin of all that human energy has built up. . . . The best inventions of man are only part of the Creator's inflexible plan for his ultimate destruction. Combine this psychology with the Moslem's acceptance of almost anything as the divine will; add a climate which saps energy and discourages initiative; and you have all the ingredients of what is known as Oriental fatalism." (Baron Meston, *India at the Crossways*, p. 34.) See also the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Indian Empire, I, p. 501.

² "The general prevailing idea of life in India is that it is a necessary evil. That life itself is a misery and a misfortune from which it is desirable to escape, is so deeply written in the souls of our people that it is not easy to efface it." (Lajpat Rai, *The Problem of National Education in India*, p. 39.) See also Sir M. Visvesvaraya, *Reconstructing India*, p. 337.

³ Kaushitaki Upanishad, 1, 4. (*Sacred Books of the East*, I, 267.) The same Upanishad (3, 1; *Sacred Books of the East*, I, 293-4) represents the highest divinity as saying, "He who understands me, by no deed of his whatsoever is his world injured, not by stealing, not by killing, not by murder of his mother, not by murder of his father." As to the pantheist's superiority to all standards regarding the treatment of women, see *Bṛihad Aranyaka Upanishad*, 6, 4, 6-8. (*Sacred Books of the East*, XV, p. 217.)

millions who are regular Hindus, including Brahmans.¹ In time of famine and disease, offerings of fowls and goats to the vengeful spirits are peculiarly common among the lower classes, and among certain groups of strict Hindus. The fact that epidemics are regularly attributed to demonesses and godlings hinders health measures.² "The Hindu villager has no conception of the reign of law in the natural world. The occurrence of miracles is a matter of daily observance."³

The forces that resist social and educational progress are strengthened by the pessimistic fatalism and superstitious fears that are commonly associated with popular religion in the villages.

C. IN WHAT WAYS DOES CASTE STEREOTYPE VILLAGE LIFE?

The most important and all-pervading institution of village social life is caste,⁴ which is one of the most power-

¹ A South Indian Brahman writes. "Almost all Brahmans believe in the existence of various spirits, and propitiate them when they begin constructing a new house or intend occupying a newly built one. From his contact with the Dravidians the Brahman has come to worship at the shrines of the smallpox gods, the cholera spirit, and the plague deity." (S. K. Yegnanarayanaier, *Young Men of India*, XXXIII, 368.)

"The number of Hindus who are altogether free from demonolatry and put no trust in the village goddesses must be very small indeed." (*Census 1891*, I, Part I, p. 59.)

See also W. T. Elmore's thorough discussion of demonolatry in *Dravidian Gods in Modern Hinduism; University Studies of Nebraska*, XV, No. 1, 1915; and Bishop Whitehead's *The Village Gods of South India*.

² For example, the Madras Sanitary Commissioner speaks of people who were averse to resort to medical treatment for influenza, under a superstitious belief that the epidemic was a visitation of a goddess and that it was impious to use any drugs. The extremely fearful state of mind that goes with demonolatry also affects adversely other phases of village life.

³ *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, VI, p. 710. See also Farquhar, *Crown of Hinduism*, p. 449.

⁴ In the following discussion of the social institutions of the village, those connected with the Hindus are necessarily given most attention, since there are over three times as many Hindus as adherents of the next most numerous religion, Islam. Besides, Hinduism has greatly influenced the peoples of all other faiths.

ful social systems ever devised by man, and which in its main outlines has stood unchanged for two millenniums. By this system a Hindu's whole social, domestic and industrial life hinges on what is called in the West the "accident" of birth. A caste is a collection of families or family groups bearing a common name, claiming common descent from a mythological ancestor, having a traditional calling and regarded as a homogeneous community by competent judges. One of the strongest original motives for the caste laws against intermarriage was to keep the Aryan stock from intermixture with the darker skinned Dravidians.¹

The religious and philosophic ideas, especially transmigration, connected with caste have also been a potent factor in enabling it to endure through the millenniums in the face of violent change and confusion. This religious basis differentiates caste from the social groupings of other parts of the world. In spite of the fact that the caste system has endured, and that no individual can go from one caste to another, castes or sub-castes as a whole may gradually change their status and alignment. A caste may split in two, or two castes may be amalgamated.² The following types of caste have been differentiated by Sir H. H. Risley: tribal, functional, sectarian, national, and those formed by crossing, by migration, and by changes of custom. Orthodox Hinduism regards a man's present position in the social scheme as the result of his action in a previous state of existence. If born a Brahman, he has been religious in

¹ *Varna*, the Hindu word for caste, means colour.

The Hindu scriptures declare the four great castes, or orders, to be divine institutions. (*Rig Veda*, 10, 90, 12; *White Yajur Veda*, 30, 5; *Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad*, 1, 4, 15; *Laws of Manu*, 1, 31; 1, 87-91; *Bhagavad Gita*, 4, 13; 18, 41-44.) They are: the Brahmans, who alone were allowed to be priests and teachers; two other "twice-born" castes; the Sudras, whose lot it was to serve the three higher castes. Beneath Sudras, and utterly unclean, grew up a group of untouchables. In the 1911 Census, over 2,300 castes are mentioned and many of these are divided again into sub-castes, whose members have to marry within the sub-caste. The caste of the Brahmans alone is reported to have 800 such divisions.

² *Census 1911*, p. 371.

earlier lives;¹ if an outcaste, he is expiating ancient foul deeds.

In bygone times, close caste solidarity did have some good results, especially in times of turmoil and invasion by hostile forces: it has helped people of different types and cultures to dwell without active discord in recognized, stable relationships; the wealthier members of a caste relieved the needs of the poverty stricken; certain arts and crafts were carefully preserved; and strict moral restraints have been furnished. However, the freedom of individuals has been hampered by many-sided restrictions. A Hindu must not marry his daughter to a person of another caste or sub-caste; he must not eat or drink with persons of another caste nor eat any food that his caste regards as unclean; he is ordered not to touch a man of a lower caste, or to let the shadow of an outcaste fall on him, or to follow any occupation considered degrading. Any failure to observe minutely these rules or to perform the marriage, birth, and death ceremonies in due fashion is severely punished by the whole social group through the direst of penalties.² The villagers of the present need to become adaptable to new conditions, instead of continuing to be moulded in rigid forms, as the caste system tends to make them. Many millions have been condemned to perpetual degradation by caste. Of the institution's bad results, the progressive Gaekwar of Baroda has said:

The system which divided us into innumerable castes, claiming to rise by minutely graduated steps from the Pariah to the Brahman, is a whole tissue of injustice, splitting men equal by nature into divisions high and low, based not on the natural standard of personal

¹ "A man's caste is held to be an infallible index of the state of his soul." (J. N. Farquhar, *Crown of Hinduism*, p. 159.) Moreover, there is a difference in spiritual essence in the four orders of the caste system according to the Hindu authorities, for each was created from a different part of Brahma: his mouth, his arms, his thighs, and his feet.

² A delinquent is boycotted completely by the members of his own caste, who will not marry, eat, or drink with any of his family. Moreover, self-respecting Hindus of all castes refuse to have dealings with him. The village priest, washerman, and barber refuse to grant him their services.

qualities, but on the accident of birth. The eternal struggle between caste and caste for social superiority has become a source of constant ill-feeling in these days. The human desire to help the members of one's caste leads to nepotism, heart burning, and consequent mutual distrust.

A rough idea of the proportion of persons in the main divisions of the Indian population may be gained by dividing it approximately into twentieths, as follows:

| | | | | | |
|------------------------------|----|----|----|----|----|
| Brahmans | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1 |
| Non-Brahman Hindus | .. | .. | .. | .. | 10 |
| Depressed Classes and Tribes | .. | .. | .. | .. | 3 |
| Moslems | .. | .. | .. | .. | 4 |
| Other Religions | .. | .. | .. | .. | 2 |

The conservative Brahmans regard themselves as the pinnacle of perfection on earth.¹ Traditionally they are priests, interpreters of the courses of the stars, and expounders of the esoteric wisdom of the *Vedas*; and they have a monopoly of these functions. In these days they condescend to other occupations, especially government service and the law. The men among them have the highest standard of literacy and culture of all regular Hindus, and they have for centuries been pressing into institutions of higher learning. Their reputation for abstract metaphysics is continuous for thousands of years.

Below the Brahmans, on the religious scale, come the non-Brahman caste Hindus, who form five-sevenths of the Hindu community. Those in the villages have generally come little into contact with Western life and thought, and are intensely conservative. They go through the daily round of their lives performing the ceremonies and observances with an obstinate persistence that changes not.²

¹ "A Brahman . . . is born as the highest on earth, the Lord of all created beings. Whatever exists in the world is the property of the Brahman." (*Laws of Manu*, 1, 99-100.) See also the *Laws of Manu*, 8, 417; 9, 317-319; 10, 129; 11, 35.

² The prescribed succession of elaborate rites, which every high caste Hindu must go through, centres round the following: giving of a spoonful of clarified butter at birth, the naming, the presentation to the moon and the sun, the giving of solid food, the first tonsure of the hair, the investiture with the sacred thread, the first lesson from the *Vedas*, returning home from being with the preceptor, and marriage.

The depressed classes number between 55 and 60 million, according to the estimates of the last census. They are the despised descendants of the ancient Dravidians who inhabited India before the coming of the Aryans. They chose, instead of isolation in the hills, as did the aboriginal tribes, to accept lives of servitude in connection with the general Hindu community, of which they form the dark fringe. These outcasts, or "untouchables," are considered below the limits of human society. They must spend their whole lives in menial and polluting labour, and must live by themselves outside the main village. Never are they allowed inside Hindu temples or inns. The sources of drinking water used by the higher castes, and some of the public roads, are prohibited to them, though they may have helped to pay for them in taxes. Their children are not generally admitted into the village school.¹ Their abased social position has impoverished their economic life and degraded their moral qualities.² As long as the outcastes are subservient and

¹ *India in 1921-22*, p. 218. A Madras Government order of March 17, 1919, says, regarding an inquiry: "The replies received disclose that children of Panchamas are admitted only into 609 schools out of 8,157 schools under public management in the Presidency," although the regulations state that "no boy is to be refused admission merely on the ground of caste."

² Consider the pariahs, who in parts of South India form a large section of the outcasts: "On the east, in the districts of Tanjore and North Arcot, where the hold on the land of the Brahmans is strongest, and a large proportion of the agricultural workers are pariahs, these are frequently *padiyals*, debtors whose condition is practically one of slavery, since they are bound, and their children after them, to work for the creditor for a bare pittance of food, and are liable to be transferred from one owner to another, under the disguise of a transference of the debt." (Slater, *Some South India Villages*, p. 239.)

Similar conditions hold true among the leather workers of North India: "Chamars live at the beck and call of others, and are obliged to do a great deal of work for which they receive no pay whatsoever. This is but a phase of the general condition of depression in which they live. They have been so conquered and broken by centuries of oppression that they have but little self-respect left, and no ambition. Their condition is in reality serfdom, and at times they are sore oppressed." (Briggs, *Chamars*, p. 224.)

content with their traditional lot, all goes smoothly, but at the least sign of independence the village leaders and money-lenders take steps to discipline them. About four and a half million persons belong to tribes and castes "whose hereditary occupation is crime of one kind or another—theft, burglary, highway robbery or even assassination, combined in many instances with prostitution."¹ In recent years the State, with the aid of the Salvation Army and other Christian missions, has established industrial settlements and made firm efforts to induce the people to remain in them.

The aboriginal tribes, which number about 16 millions, are racially similar to the untouchable depressed classes, but the aboriginals are scattered over isolated hills and forests and have never been connected with Hinduism. Most of them, with the exception of the Mongoloid tribes of Assam, are very shy, and live in an exceedingly primitive way, subsisting on berries and roots. They speak a large variety of languages; are animists, their religion consisting of placating dreadful spirits by sacrifice.

It is most unfortunate that much of the important work to be done by the school in fostering habits of good citizenship is counteracted by caste, which forms a grave barrier to mutual helpfulness. Moreover, caste exclusiveness, and the loathing of the caste for the outcaste people, still often render it impossible to have a single school that includes all the children of a village.

D. HOW IS VILLAGE ORGANIZATION CHANGING?

The vast majority of the Indian villages were at one time closely compacted units with a common life.² B. H. Baden-Powell, the great modern student of village communities and of their forms of land holding, summarizes the difference between two kinds of villages in this table:³

¹ *India in 1922*, p. 219.

² The exceptions occurred in districts of the British Himalayas, much of the southwest coast, and some areas in the south Punjab and along the Northwest Frontier.

³ *Village Communities in India*, p. 19.

I. SEVERALTY VILLAGE

1. Influential headman (often still possessing certain privileges) is part of the natural constitution.
2. Holdings entirely separate, and not shares of a unit estate.
3. No joint liability for revenue: each holding separately assessed on its merits
4. No jointly owned area of waste or "common" land belongs to the village, or is available for partition.

II. JOINT VILLAGE

1. No headman originally, but a *panchayat*, or council of five. In modern times an official headman, appointed to represent the community.
2. The holdings (sometimes joint) are shares of a unit estate.
3. Liability (joint and several) for the revenue always assessed in a lump sum.
4. The village site, and usually an area of waste, owned in common, is available for partition.

The severalty village prevails throughout half a million square miles in Bengal, Central India, and the west and south of India. The joint village, on the other hand, is characteristic of the north and northwest of India.

In both types of village are found two chief officers, a headman and an accountant, who are commonly hereditary in the south, and appointed by revenue officers in the north. Their selection by officials and their receiving fixed money salaries are growing more common. The main function of the headman in all parts of India is to collect the revenue; he also gives information of the occurrence of crime. In the joint village of the north, he has little else that he must do, the police responsibility resting on all the landholders. However, in the severalty villages of Madras and Bombay, the headman exercises judicial and other powers. The accountant, or clerk, is charged with keeping the village records and maps, and preparing any revenue accounts and statements that have to be put in writing.

The village also has subordinate officers under the orders of the headman: a man to keep watch and ward within the village limits; one or more messengers; and men to distribute irrigation water, if there is any public water supply for the land. Many servants and artisans used to be commonly employed by the community,¹ in all the areas

¹ The following are still occasionally found, some of them very rarely: the boundary man, who keeps the limits of the village and

where the villages were compactly organized. They were paid either by giving them a grant of rent-free land or by donating to them regularly a prescriptive share of the harvest. But in modern days money payments are becoming increasingly frequent. In addition to the designated servants, the village in olden times often compelled all of its men to work for the common interest, and this practice still exists in some areas, especially in connection with repairs on small irrigation works or public buildings.¹ A system of private police, under which men of predatory habits are paid to keep the village free from other robbers, is still in vogue in many areas.

The fact that the Indian village has a tradition of united and shared interests, will pave the way for the co-operation of the whole village in supporting and strengthening the school, even though the present obstacles to unity may be difficult to overcome.

E. WHAT DO SOCIAL AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS DEMAND OF EDUCATION?

Indian men throughout the country, and women as well, are pushing a crusade to free girls and women from the customs that bind them, and to enable them to have a happy childhood and married life, to remarry if the husband dies, to move about freely, and to take a share in the progress of the country.² The education of girls is also making long, forward strides.³ *India in 1921-22*

gives testimony in case of dispute; the astrologer; the smith; the carpenter; potter; washerman; barber; cow-keeper; the school-master, who teaches the children their letters in the sand; the doctor; and the poet. They hold analogous positions to those of the common blacksmith and miller of ancient rural England. Each village used to be almost entirely self-sufficient, and was able to persist, in spite of troublous times, when warring factions swept through the land.

¹ Mysore makes definite provision for such joint labour on village improvements.

² "It cannot be denied that the last few years have witnessed an increasing emancipation of Indian women from the restrictions under which they have for centuries laboured. The progress is very slow; for the purdah system is considered fashionable . . . a hallmark of respectability." (*India in 1921-22*, p. 222.)

³ Sir Valentine Chirol, *India, Old and New*, p. 236.

remarks,¹ "The growing interest displayed by upper- and middle-class Indian ladies in political and social questions; their increasing prominence on the platform and in the press; their zeal in the cause of temperance, infant welfare and philanthropic activities, must be taken as the dawn of a new era."

The hold of some of the former religious beliefs and practices is slowly weakening.² The better educated classes are tending to break away from the strict orthodoxy of their ancestors and to adopt eclectic tenets, in which there are often Christian elements.³ Little change of this kind is noticeable among the ignorant people of the villages; with them, although some of the more degraded superstitions are becoming less common, the tendencies toward fatalism, ascetism, and fear, are nearly as strong as ever.

The protests against the caste system made in former times by Buddhism, Islam and Sikhism have left few lasting results. Instead, the virus of caste exclusiveness has to some extent crept into the social system of Moslems, Sikhs and Christians. In modern days, however, many of the less essential caste rules are being profoundly modified by the impact of Western education and of Christian ideals of brotherhood; and also by the increase of railways and various sorts of economic pressure. Changes in caste practices are particularly noticeable among the English-educated classes, and also among the modern industrial and commercial classes. While caste has been thus strongly challenged, and its details modified in the towns, in the villages such fundamental matters as intermarriage have been little affected. So strong has been the opposition to change among pious but illiterate people, especially among

¹ p. 222.

² "Everywhere the tendencies of religious unsettlement are apparent. Hinduism, perhaps more than the other faiths, shows in its social side and in its religious practices increasing signs of disintegration." (S. Mukerjee, *Baroda Census Report, 1921*, Chapter IV.)

³ For example, the great nationalist leader, Mr. M. K. Gandhi, has publicly acknowledged the great influence that the Sermon on the Mount had on his life. His sufferings have been frequently compared by Hindus to those of Christ.

zealous women, that caste remains a dominant force in rural life.

As to the treatment of the depressed classes, the National Social Conferences have passed many resolutions, which have helped to direct and formulate public opinion, but which have not produced very large results in practice.¹ The greatest work for the liberation of these downtrodden human beings has been done by Christian missions, which have made life worth living for hundreds of thousands of them, and have succeeded in developing many strong and well educated leaders from their number. Hindu and reforming agencies, such as the Arya Somaj, have been doing similar work on a much smaller scale, to do away with untouchability. "The removal of this curse has been placed in the forefront of the non-co-operation programme; and Mr. Gandhi has caused consternation in the orthodox camps by his slashing denunciations of the inhuman treatment meted out to the depressed classes."² Conferences of representatives of the depressed classes from all parts of India have been held annually since 1921.³ The number of these people belonging to co-operative societies has also increased rapidly.³

In many parts of India, steps have recently been taken to restore to the village panchayats, or councils, some of their ancient powers.⁴ For example, in the United Pro-

¹ The 1920 National Social Conference resolved that: "The conference is of opinion that the condition of untouchability imposed upon the depressed classes in India ought to be forthwith abolished and that free and unrestricted access should be given these classes to public institutions, such as schools, dispensaries, courts of justice, conducted for the public benefit and at the public expense, and also to public places, such as wells, springs, reservoirs, municipal stand-pipes, burning and bathing ghats, places of amusement and worship, and further gives its whole-hearted support to all peaceful and just efforts on the part of the depressed classes to remove their grievances."

² *India in 1922*, p. 251. See also the resolutions of the National Congress Working Committee meeting at Bardoli, on February 11 and 12, 1922. (Quoted *ibid.*, p. 345.)

³ *Ibid.*, p. 220. Note, for example, the Adi-Dravidas of Madras.

⁴ For an account of the increasing powers granted to village panchayats in Madras, see *Publicity Bureau Leaflet*, No. 106, Madras, 1920. (*India in 1922*, p. 261.)

vinces 3,830 panchayats have been organized to deal with petty civil suits and criminal offences.¹ There are many ways in which the power of self-direction within the village can be developed to good advantage.² The co-operative societies, with their panchayats, have been specially helpful.

In the last few years, the whole political situation has changed with tremendous rapidity. For one thing, the passage of the Government of India Act, near the end of 1919, increased the number of qualified voters from less than 50,000 to nearly 5,000,000.³ This is twice the number of voters that Japan has had since 1918, where 95 per cent. of the people are literate and where representative government has been in existence since 1890. Since India has a literacy rate of just over 6 per cent., and since the franchise qualifications are based on property,⁴ millions of illiterate voters have been placed on the voting rolls.

At the same time that the franchise was enlarged, certain branches of administration in the provinces were opened to popular direction and discussion. "Among the most important subjects so transferred to popular control are local self-government; medical administration and public health; education;⁵ public works, under a number of important heads; agriculture; forests and fisheries; co-operation; excise; registration; industrial development."⁶

¹ *India in 1923*, p. 62. As to the value of village self-government, see *Report of Royal Commission on Decentralization in India*, p. 238 f. (*Parliamentary Paper*, 1909, Cd. 4360.)

² "The management of private schools, the construction and repair of school buildings, tanks and wells, the distribution of water in lands under irrigation, the settlement of small disputes, the common enjoyment of grazing and woodcutting in forests, the administration of village co-operative credit societies—these are some of the matters in which village communities even now show a perceptible amount of common life and purpose." (John Matthai, *Village Government in British India*, p. 19.)

³ Women have been enfranchised in Madras, Bombay, Bengal, the United Provinces, and several Indian States.

⁴ The main exception to property requirements is that university graduates of seven years' standing may vote for the special university seats.

⁵ See *Indian Education in 1920-21*, p. 7. The same report laments the fact that the responsibility for education is placed in the hands of more than one minister (pp. 233-34).

⁶ *India in 1922*, p. 253

These fields are placed under ministers selected by the governors from among the popular majority in the legislative council. Other branches are still reserved to executive councillors amenable to the British Parliament. The governor is the connecting link between these two parts of the provincial government. The result of these changes is that the illiterate village landowners now have more voice in the government than most of the best educated university men had in 1919. Even before the popular elections, the peasants were gradually coming more into contact with their fellow countrymen in other places. But, until a few years ago, the classes from which were drawn the village officials, priests and tradesmen, were the only ones who concerned themselves with political affairs, while now this interest is rapidly spreading to all classes, including the great mass of the farmers and artisans. Because their present ignorance renders them prone to take unwise steps with harmful results, the production of intelligent and progressive citizens in the rural areas is an obligation that the village school cannot evade.

The men who began to serve in the legislative councils at the beginning of 1921, and the popular ministers, have performed their duties with an ability that surprised many British administrators. However, the smallness of the power actually obtained by the council members disappointed the hopes of a great many Indians. A period of experiment and uncertainty has begun, which has not resulted as yet in the formation of any coherent political parties. One of the surprising results of the 1920 elections was the triumph of the non-Brahmans in Madras.¹

Underlying and prompting these changes in the constitutional machinery has been, during the twentieth century, a striking development of the spirit of nationalism,

¹ "Among all the events, political as well as social, of the period under review, there is probably none of greater importance, actual and potential, than the capture of the reformed Legislative Council of Madras by the non-Brahman party. For the first time in the history of India the lower castes of Madras have asserted themselves against the intellectual oligarchy of the upper, and have seized political power in their own hands." (*India in 1922*, p. 221.)

involving a new desire for respect and self-determination. In fact, since 1919, under the self-sacrificing leadership of the "great-souled" Mr. M. K. Gandhi, it has become the most potent single factor in India's life. Notwithstanding the defects and excesses that may be found in the national movement, it promises, under sound guidance, to be profoundly helpful in healing the country's serious internal divisions of religion, caste and race. The Hindu and Moslem leaders have tried hard to smooth over their political and other differences. The rank and file of these two faiths, however, are still easily stirred against each other in connection with religious observances. The newly aroused national spirit is also a mighty force capable of giving strong momentum to India's social and political progress.

The enormous broadening of the franchise and the element of popular control in the provincial administrations, render imperative redoubled efforts to impart literacy and good citizenship to the youth of the land. Moreover, the times demand that the village children should become more progressive and self-respecting, instead of being custom-bound and self-contemptuous, as at present. Rural schools with progressive teachers can render increasingly important service in securing these ends. With so much at stake, the changes that are imminent in educational policy need to be wisely based on broad experience.

SECOND ENQUIRY:

HOW CAN RURAL EDUCATION BE
REFORMED AND EXTENDED?

Go and stand amidst their scowling hearts, my child, and let your gentle eyes fall upon them like the forgiving peace of the evening over the strife of the day. Let them see your face, my child, and thus know the meaning of all things ; let them love you and thus love each other.

—TAGORE

CHAPTER IV

ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS

A. Concise Retrospect.—B. The Educational System and the Village School.—C. Primary School Expansion and Consolidation.—D. Buildings and Equipment.—E. School Enrolment and Attendance.—F. Retardation and Elimination.—G. Resources.

A. CONCISE RETROSPECT

FROM early times India has had a broad network of schools that were closely associated with the religions that dominated the people—Hindu, Buddhist or Moslem.¹ A large proportion of these schools were located in the villages, where most of the people lived. In addition, certain classes and castes, such as warriors and artisans, had forms of training for their particular occupations. Besides such religious and vocational schools, a great many rudimentary, secular, primary schools existed. They were patronized mostly by the traders, who needed to keep accounts, and to a far less extent by some of the agricultural classes. They were supported and fostered by the villagers themselves, a condition which, unfortunately, scarcely now exists. This education was neither aided nor inspected by the state nor by any political authority, with the exception of the village.² It was narrowly utilitarian, and led to none of the learned professions and to no knowledge of religion or law, these subjects being the

¹ F. E. Keay, *Ancient Indian Education*. Also *Cyclopedia of Education*, III, p. 399.

² Matthai (*Village Government in British India*) states his belief that from early times the villages as units supported the teachers, but Keay thinks that this was a much later development.

monopoly of a few castes. In these secular schools the teachers had no training for their tasks. In all of the schools, whether secular or religious, memorization was excessively prominent.¹

The extent to which the indigenous village schools survived until the times of British dominance depended largely on the degree to which the particular area was left in peace, instead of being overrun by military bands during the times of chaos and struggle that accompanied the breaking up of the Mogul administration. Investigators for the East India Company estimated, before 1840, that one-sixth of the boys in the Madras Presidency were under some sort of instruction, and one-eighth of those in Bombay, proportions which were far exceeded by some of the districts of Bengal. William Adam concluded that vernacular education in Bengal was declining, and that it did not serve the productive classes, but only the zemindars' agents and petty tradesmen.²

In spite of the fact that some primary schools had been started and aided by the missionaries and the East India Company before 1854, there was no settled or comprehensive policy until the memorable Despatch of the East India Court of Directors, drawn up by Sir Charles Wood, in 1854.³ By this remarkable document was acknowledged "the responsibility of the government towards the teeming millions, and its desire to combat the ignorance of the people, which may be considered the greatest curse of the country." The extension of popular education was to be encouraged mainly through a system of grants-in-aid to privately managed schools, a system which still remains

¹ The nationalist Lajpat Rai says: "I come to the conclusion, therefore, that any widespread revival of the ancient or mediæval systems of education is unthinkable. It will take us centuries back, and I am certain that the country will not adopt it." (*National Education in India*, p. 55.)

² He estimated that about 5.5 per cent. of the adult male population of Bengal could read and write.

³ "In the forty-six years that have passed since it was received, Government, the educational departments, and private effort have toiled and panted at the tasks it set. . . . Adequate fulfilment is not even yet within view." (H. R. James, *Education and Statesmanship in India, 1797-1910*, p. 42.)

in force. At least one of the purposes of education as set forth in the Despatch, the selection of men for government employ, has been carried out fully. In fact, the aspirants for government service and the legal profession have been so many as to glut the market. First the higher classes in the cities, and later the middle classes, have sought education as a means of bettering their social and economic status.

The Education Commission of 1882 went further than the Despatch of 1854 in emphasizing the claims of popular education, recommending "that primary education be declared to be that part of the whole system of public instruction which possesses an almost exclusive claim on local funds set apart for education, and a large claim on provincial revenues." The Commission's view that primary education was meant to qualify pupils "for their position in life, and was not necessarily to be regarded as a portion of instruction leading to the university," was indorsed by the Government of India.

After a careful survey of its whole education policy in 1904, the Indian Government made the following pronouncement: "On a general view of the question, the Government of India cannot avoid the conclusion that primary education has hitherto received insufficient attention and an inadequate share of the public funds. They consider that it possesses a strong claim upon the sympathy both of the Supreme Government and of the Local Governments, and should be made a leading charge upon the provincial revenues; and that in those provinces where it is in a backward condition, its encouragement should be a primary obligation."¹ The Government in 1913 announced that: "The proposition that illiteracy must be broken down, and that primary education has, in the present circumstances of India, a predominant claim upon the public funds, represent accepted policy no longer open to discussion."² To carry these policies into action will require giving primary education more of the attention and careful thought that it so richly deserves.

¹ *Indian Educational Policy, 1904 and 1913*, p. 9. ² *Ibid.*

B. THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM AND THE VILLAGE SCHOOL

Village education can best be considered as an integral part of the general system, not as something apart or inferior. The dominant features of the system of education are briefly described in the following paragraphs.

The various provinces diverge widely from each other in the administration and development of their school systems, which are now under the charge of ministers, who are chosen from the elected members of the provincial legislative councils. The Central Government deals only with large questions of educational policy, its grants for special educational purposes having been ended by the constitutional reforms of 1921. However, the Bureau of Education at Delhi, headed by an Educational Commissioner, and the Central Advisory Board, representing the divers official and non-official interests, for two years helped to co-ordinate the work of the provinces. Very unfortunately, the Bureau of Education and the Board were sacrificed in 1923 on the altar of retrenchment.

Most education in India is carried on in recognized institutions, which are about evenly divided between public and private management, only a small fraction of the pupils being in unrecognized schools.¹ The public primary schools, with their larger funds, are apt to be better equipped and staffed and have more pupils than the private ones, and these in turn are better than the unrecognized

¹ The number of pupils in boys' primary schools under the various kinds of management was :

| | NUMBER (1923) | OF TOTAL (1923) | PER CENT. CHANGE (1917-23) |
|---------------------------|------------------|--------------------|----------------------------------|
| Managed by Provinces | 60,135 | 1.0 | 62.0 Increase |
| Managed by Local Boards | 2,395,820 | 41.2 | 20.6 Increase |
| Managed by Municipalities | 319,886 | 5.5 | 41.1 Increase |
| Private Management | 2,711,826 | 46.6 | 5.9 Increase |
| Unrecognized .. | 324,639 | 5.6 | 14.1 Decrease |
| | 5,812,306 | 100.0 | 12.5 Increase |

The terms "local authorities" and "local bodies" include both municipalities and "local boards." "Local boards" embrace district and taluk boards. These are all political authorities having education as one of their functions.

schools. Accordingly, the schools under public management are growing faster than those privately managed, while the unrecognized schools are decreasing in number and enrolment.

The recognized institutions under private management follow the recognized courses of study, are open to inspection, have to maintain a reasonable standard of efficiency, and practically always receive grants-in-aid. The grant-in-aid system has stimulated the support of education from private funds and has allowed freedom of religious teaching. The system as a whole has been of great value in encouraging the extension of education, though the standards have sometimes been so low as to encourage the starting and continuance of inefficient schools. The grants-in-aid and department rules have tended to maintain certain minimum standards, but in a few cases they have also tended to hamper progress beyond such minimum standards, especially when the inspection has been done by poorly qualified subordinates.

For the most part, the unrecognized schools deal with religious texts, the instruction being in Sanskrit, Arabic or some other classical language.

The school work below college grade is in three stages: the primary which averages five or six years, and the middle and highest stages each with about three years.

Two separate kinds of institutions exist side by side, both covering some of the same classes, the elementary and the secondary. The elementary schools have a primary and sometimes a middle stage, and are very often slighted. With minor exceptions, they are taught entirely in the vernacular and do not lead to the secondary stage, unless the pupil on being transferred is set back from one to four years.¹ The secondary schools leading to college work generally include primary and middle depart-

¹ The Educational Commission of 1882-83 made the unfortunate recommendation (2, 1): "That primary education be regarded as the instruction of the masses through the vernacular, in such subjects as will best fit them for their position in life, and be not necessarily regarded as a portion of instruction leading up to the university." (See *Education in India, 1917-22*, inset opposite p. 77.)

ments. The teaching at the bottom is in the vernacular, and higher up entirely in English, which, being a foreign tongue, is imperfectly mastered by most of the students.

Secondary education, which has a strong literary trend, is not nearly so far behind other countries as is primary education.¹ In 1922, only 3·03 per cent. of the population were in the primary stage, while 0·36 per cent. were in other stages. India's proportion of college students to the total population is not very low in comparison with other countries; on the basis of the literate populace, it is surprisingly high,² especially if men alone are considered, since they almost monopolize secondary and higher education.

Secondary and higher education tend to emphasize scholastic drill on minor details and abstractions remote from present Indian problems.³ The overwhelming major-

¹ *Education in India, 1912-17*, pp. 4-5.

² In Bengal the proportion of literate classes taking full-time university courses is almost ten times that in England. (*Calcutta University Commission Report*, I, 20.) Between 1917 and 1922, when the number of pupils in boys' primary schools increased by 6 per cent., that of candidates for matriculation and school-final examinations increased by 34·2 per cent. In Madras, literacy in English increased between 1911 and 1921 nearly three times as fast as literacy in all languages. (*Census, 1921*, Madras, Part 1, p. 118.)

The degree of attention received by primary education is shown by the share of the funds expended on it. The proportion of expenditure on primary education from provincial funds to the total revenues of four provinces is shown by the following table :

| | TOTAL REVENUE (NEAREST THOUSAND) | PERCENTAGE SPENT ON PRIMARY EDUCATION | ON ALL OTHER FORMS OF EDUCATION |
|---------------------|--|---|---------------------------------------|
| Bombay .. | 146,223 | 7·0 | 4·9 |
| Madras .. | 168,479 | 4·5 | 5·0 |
| United Provinces .. | 143,650 | 3·5 | 6·4 |
| Bengal .. | 104,316 | 2·5 | 9·6 |

(From the budget figures for 1922-23, quoted by the Madras Minister of Education before a Conference on Elementary Education, May 26, 1923.)

³ Sir John Strachey, *India*, p. 214. The Industrial Commission has recommended the introduction and strengthening of vocational courses at the middle and later stages, so that it may be possible for students to branch out from literary to vocational work that will train them to take an intelligent place in the new industrial developments.

ity of students take entirely literary courses that train for nothing except administrative, clerical, teaching and legal careers. Such men have flooded the market, and consequently receive utterly meagre salaries. Because at the same time their expectations have been greatly increased by education, they have helped to form a disappointed "intellectual proletariat." Almost no men with higher education come into close contact with village life, as many such men do in the West through serving religious organizations or becoming cultivating landholders or rural medical practitioners.

It is also unfortunate that examinations, which are uniform for a province, dominate the whole of education from the primary stage through the university. "It is beyond doubt that the greatest evil from which the system of university education in India suffers is that teaching is subordinated to examination, and not examination to teaching."¹ Uniform examinations are held in most provinces, even as early as the beginning of the middle stage.

Few rural children receive any instruction beyond the very meagre amount offered by the primary school in their village. However, some of the higher castes and the richer families send their children at the beginning of their school career to the primary stages of secondary schools, while a few others may enter their boys in secondary schools after they have passed through the village school. A child going from an elementary to a secondary school is set back from one to four or sometimes even six years.² Those rural children who have undergone secondary or higher education in the towns, rarely, if ever, return to the hard living conditions of the village, except under stern compulsion.

In each province the system of education has been rigidly stereotyped, at least until recent years. The tendency to

¹ *Report of the Indian University Commission*, 1902, p. 43. Also see M. West, *Education, Selective, Specific, Compensatory*, Chapter I. *India in 1920* gives the supremacy of the examination as one of the three principal defects of the system of Indian education.

² See the scheme of school classes in *Education in 1917-22*, I, opposite p. 77. The fact that there are two distinct types of schools, differentiated by the presence or absence of English, hinders the progress of pupils.

discourage variation and experiment has been strengthened by the fondness for uniformity of the administrators and inspectors, and by the fatalistic inertia found among a majority of the people. In fact, the educational system as a whole has shown little adaptability to the conditions and needs of India, being built on English models of a generation ago and permeated with ideas now discarded in England. There is even less adaptation to the villages of India than to the towns.

The recent constitutional changes have opened a way for making the schools more responsive to Indian needs. Education in each province is administered by Indian ministers, who are appointed by the governors from the elected members of the provincial councils, and who are answerable to those councils. The councils can, through resolutions and budget votes, help to shape educational policy. But since the change, education has been very adversely affected by the financial stringency of the provincial governments, increased by their having to contribute very large amounts to the central coffers. It is also unfortunate that the field of education in every province has been so distributed among different ministers as to impede unity of action.¹ Some nationalists, desiring to place education more in line with Indian traditions, have broken with all official connection and started "national" institutions, which thus far have made few distinctive contributions to educational thought and are now suffering from want of funds.

One of the most important and hopeful movements is toward compulsory education, municipalities and district boards being allowed to introduce it. However, by the end of 1923, compulsion had actually been put in force by only thirty municipalities and eighty-seven rural areas of British India (all but one of the latter being in the Punjab). Baroda State has had compulsory education for many years and Mysore and Indore have more recently followed suit.

The following suggestions as to next steps are offered:

1. A few centres for the *thorough scientific investigation* of definite problems connected with the aims, methods and

¹ See *Calcutta University Commission Report*, III, p. 243.

products of education. At these places a new spirit of enquiry and experiment can be engendered, and conferences of educational thinkers can be held. The training colleges could do far more research and constructive educational planning than at present. In all such investigation and in the task of reforming the primary schools, progressive educators are needed among officials and missionaries with the best educational training that the West has to offer.

2. *Rural community middle schools* at strategic points, of such a kind as to impart to the pupils a wholesome and compelling interest in the improvement of their communities, and to give familiarity with village handicrafts and practice in social service, without neglecting the children's need of intellectual stimulation and development. Such schools can do a very great deal to build up strong rural leaders who will be ready to cast in their lot with the village for its improvement.¹

3. Specialized and practical *institutions for vocational training* on the middle and secondary levels, so as to turn out youths who will be experts engrossed in agriculture or industry. India needs men of brain who are willing and able to do hard muscular work.

4. Secure the easier passage of bright children *from the vernacular elementary schools to the secondary schools* that use English as the medium of instruction.² This

¹ W. J. McKee writes of such a school: "We have succeeded in getting our graduates to go back to the villages, and also there is an enthusiastic desire to give their time and strength for the uplift of their people." ("Rural Education in India," *International Review of Missions*, July, 1923, p. 350.) See especially *Village Education in India*, Chapter VI. Also Biss, *Primary Education in Bengal, 1921*, p. 3; *Report of Conference on Rural Education in India*, Moga, December 5-11, 1922, and Fleming's *Schools with a Message in India*, Chapter III.

² The Central Provinces, Baroda, and Mysore have taken steps to unify the early courses of instruction in all institutions. (Mysore Order on Education, dated March 3, 1922.)

In order to select the brightest village children for more advanced education, a few educators in India are making very promising experiments with intelligence tests adapted to Indian conditions. (See Warnshuis, "The Arcot Mission Experiment in Tests," *Christian Education*, 1st quarter, 1924.)

change, even though few children continued their schooling, would increase the parents' respect for the education being offered in the village primary school, for they would see it was no longer a *cul de sac*.¹

C. PRIMARY SCHOOL EXPANSION AND CONSOLIDATION

The number of primary schools in British India increased from 142,203 in 1917 to 162,015 in 1923, an increase of 14 per cent. Several provinces have started campaigns to expand the primary school system, several of which have been delayed by financial difficulties.² With the discussion of such schemes in the councils and in the press, public interest in education has increased and is now shared by more classes of people than ever before.

The average primary school in India has only 41 pupils, the number ranging from 28 for Bihar to 62 for Bombay. The villages have smaller numbers than the towns,³ and usually have single-teacher schools, which do exceedingly poor work from most points of view, though they have helped to combat illiteracy.

There was, in 1923, a boys' primary school for every 7.9 square miles in British India, or one for every 913 of the male population. There was a girls' primary school for every 47.7 square miles, or one for every 5,250 women and girls,⁴ but over a third of the girls study in boys' schools. If the primary schools were distributed evenly with no more than one school to even the largest city, there would be less than one primary school for every three towns or villages. However, the distribution of schools is very far

¹ Note the *Report of Conference of Directors of Public Instruction*, January, 1917, p. 4.

² *India in 1922*, pp. 239-42; *Education in India, 1923*, pp. 13-15.

³ For example, the average size of 1,053 mission village schools in 1919 was 25.3. (Unpublished reports received by the Interchurch World Movement.)

⁴ The number of persons to a single primary school in the different provinces was (1922):

| | | | |
|--------------|-------|-------------------|-------|
| Bengal | 977 | Assam | 1,745 |
| Madras | 1,161 | United Provinces | 2,693 |
| Bihar | 1,362 | Punjab | 3,102 |
| Bombay | 1,532 | Central Provinces | 3,229 |

from being even. Not only is there a disproportionately small number of them in the villages, but they are irregularly scattered among the villages. For example, of the 26,258 towns and villages of Bombay, 62 per cent. had no public primary schools at all in 1921.¹ In other parts of India, often two, three, or more schools compete with each other in the same or adjoining villages, there being none again for miles.² The schools are badly distributed in this way, because: the parents like to have their children go to adjacent schools; the intense heat of the spring and the heavy downpours of the monsoon make it difficult for children to go far to school during these seasons; men are likely to start new schools where some demand for education has already been aroused by the presence of a school; neighbouring villages often dislike combining on the same school.³

In much of India, as in Bengal, primary children are expected to walk only half a mile to school, but in the Punjab the distance is one mile. Baroda in 1916 closed 169 schools because the average attendance was under twenty, but the minimum limit in the Punjab is higher, no new board school being started unless an average attendance of fifty may be expected. In Bombay primary schools are first being opened in villages with one thousand people.

In very few places has much headway been made toward consolidation of schools. However, in Baroda, in 1916, seventy schools were amalgamated with bigger schools of the same kind. In that State, of the 1,885 towns and

¹ *Public Instruction, Bombay, 1921*. In the Madras Presidency the population of villages or groups of hamlets in close proximity, that were unprovided with schools, is shown in the following table:

| POPULATION | | PERCENTAGE WITHOUT SCHOOLS | |
|-------------|----|----------------------------|------|
| | | 1917 | 1922 |
| Under 200 | .. | 97 | 91 |
| 500-1,000 | .. | 40 | 38 |
| 1,000-2,000 | .. | 19 | 17 |

(*Public Instruction, 1917-22*, I, 35.)

² According to a Bengal survey of 7,000 children, two-thirds walked a quarter of a mile or less to school, while only one-seventh walked over half a mile. (M. West, *Primary Education in Bengal*, Table V.)

³ In some parts of South India, however, the villagers have shown an eagerness for central schools.

villages that are provided with schools, nearly three hundred are served with schools in adjoining villages within a distance of a mile and a half.¹

The following next steps are suggested :

1. *The consolidation of small schools* that are now within a half mile or mile of each other, and the better staffing of combined schools. Where climatic conditions permit, schools a mile and a half distant from each other may well be combined. This will improve the service that the schools can render for the following reasons: efficiency will no longer be cut down through the competition of adjacent schools; the children of the different castes will gain from knowing each other; better trained and better paid teachers can be employed; they will mutually help and stimulate each other; each teacher will have nearer the best number of pupils for efficient work; inspection and supervision will become easier.²

2. The execution of *long-term progressive programmes* for the improvement and expansion of primary education, based on accurate surveys of the facts. Provision needs to be made for the steady betterment of the training and pay of teachers, for new buildings, for the wise location of schools to avoid overlapping, and for the means of maintaining literacy.³ The objectives should be definite. The

¹ The United States has 12,000 consolidated schools. (*Biennial Survey of Education, 1916-18*, III, p. 94.)

² For light on the great need of consolidation in Bengal, see Biss, *Primary Education in Bengal*, pp. 27-28. In the Punjab, between 1922 and 1923 the number of schools under public management with less than 40 pupils was reduced from 2,754 to 1,443. (*Education in the Punjab, 1923*, p. 5.) "Eventually," says the Commission on Village Education in India, "Indian educators must realize that the economic conditions here, far more than in the West, will not justify a school for every village; that they must give up their conservatism and prejudices, or starve educationally." (*Village Education in India*, p. 159.) See *India in 1923*, p. 241

³ "There should be a large expansion of lower primary schools teaching the three R's, with drawing, knowledge of the village map, nature study and physical exercises." (*Indian Educational Policy, 1913*, p. 10.) See *India in 1923*, p. 236, as to the public interest in school expansion.

The need is for progressive measures like that passed by the Philippine legislature in 1918, providing for the spending of 45,000,000

experience of other provinces and outside lands will prove valuable.

3. The organization of *councils or public boards specially for educational functions*. These can be of the greatest service in energetically pushing and wisely co-ordinating and directing the expansion of primary or elementary education. Committees can relieve them of the detailed work. The Madras Presidency in 1920 took an important forward step by setting up *ad hoc* district educational councils, whose membership is chiefly elected by local bodies, but partly nominated to represent special educational interests.¹

4. The appointment by provincial governments of *special officers to co-ordinate the work of all primary schools*, through helpful guidance and advice. This step has been advocated for Bengal by Biss in his excellent reports on primary education.

5. The starting of *progressive demonstration schools in every district* or smaller area, which will be in close enough touch with other schools to improve their methods and stimulate them to increased activity. Schools of this kind maintained by private agencies should receive governmental aid, even though they may be experimenting with courses that differ from the standard ones.

D. BUILDINGS AND EQUIPMENT

In all parts of India, village schools are often held under a spreading tree or even in the open street. The main disadvantages of this are the exposure to the heat of the sun, the difficulty of caring for equipment, and the fact that

rupees (or 4.5 *per capita*) during five years, in addition to the tenth of the national income that already goes to education. The programme called for doubling the elementary school facilities in five years, for training 12,000 more teachers, for increasing teachers' salaries, and for obtaining several thousand new buildings and sites.

¹ The bodies dealing with education might direct their attention over a smaller area than a district. Biss recommends that each union of villages in Bengal should have a small educational committee, partly composed of board members and partly of elected representatives of the teachers. (*Primary Education in Bengal*, p. 52.)

when the children are in plain sight the parents are more likely to call them away for trivial reasons.

The majority of the buildings that are used for village schools are cheap, poorly constructed, and unsuitable. A great gap exists between them and some of the newer board schools, which are expensive and constructed according to official type plans. The provinces aim to encourage the erection of good buildings; for example, the Punjab Government undertakes to bear three-quarters or more of their cost.¹

Tens of thousands of village school buildings are nothing more than a combination of low mud walls and a roof of grass thatch. "Many schools are so wretchedly housed in dark, dingy, ill-situated, ill-ventilated, dirty mud houses that teaching work of any kind is well-nigh impossible, and the health of the boys is likely to be seriously injured."² Sanitary arrangements scarcely exist, and the overcrowding, flies, and impure drinking water make the building even more unhealthy.³ Most of the village schools have mud floors from which the dust is easily stirred up, to the detriment of eyes and lungs.

A movement to secure cheaper buildings than the elaborate ones put up by the public works department, but more adequate than the cheap buildings so commonly found in the villages, is now in progress in Bombay, the United Provinces, and Bihar and Orissa.

In Madras, Bengal, and Bombay, less than half of the schools are held in buildings of their own. In Bengal, "it is very rare to find a primary school in possession of the ground upon which it stands."⁴ The garden, where present, is rarely put to much use.

The equipment of some board schools may be fairly satisfactory, but that of the aided or unaided schools is almost sure to be utterly defective. Village schools generally have little else than mats on which the pupils sit,

¹ *Education in the Punjab, 1920*, p. 30.

² *Education in the Punjab, 1920*. See also *Education in Madras, 1917-22*, I, p. 41.

³ See *Village Education in India*, pp. 116-17.

⁴ Biss, *Primary Education in Bengal*, p. 47.

a teacher's chair and table, a clock, a battered blackboard, the registers, one or two strange pictures, and a couple of text-books and maps.¹

In the light of the above conditions, the following suggestions are made :

1. Further encouragement by provincial grants of the *erection of healthful but inexpensive buildings*. Conducting schools in rented houses may be not only harmful but uneconomical. Simple buildings can be put up without great cost.² Often the villagers are able to help with the erection and repair.

2. *The fuller utilization of school buildings* than at present. This could be done by such means as adult night schools, meetings and lectures on matters of public concern. The more community purposes can be served the better, provided that the children's interests are safeguarded. It would be well also if a good home could be provided for the teacher, in order to raise his status and give the villagers a demonstration of what a neat yet simple home can be.

3. *More varied but simple equipment* for the various school activities of the children. This is required even more in the villages than in the cities, because in the village schools the children are for longer times without the direct guidance of the teacher.³ The children may be able to help make some of the equipment from local materials, though too much work should not be loaded on them.

¹ Often they have less. Of 117 aided and unaided schools investigated in Bengal, 25 per cent. had no maps, 23 per cent. no textbooks, 8 per cent. no blackboards, and 8 per cent. no furniture at all. (Michael West, *Primary Education, Bengal*, p. 3.)

² The local boards in the United Provinces have been advised to provide for the smaller village schools, "buildings of the type occupied by the well-to-do residents in the villages." "There is an unanimous expression of opinion on the part of educational inspectors in favour of less costly and less elaborate school buildings." (*Education in Bombay*, p. 21.) Open-air schools have also been tried. See *Report of the Satyabadi School, 1913-18*, Bihar and Orissa.

³ See Sharp, *Rural School in the Central Provinces*, pp. 144, 145. F. W. Dunn, in *Educative Equipment for Rural Schools*, points out that materials are necessary for the following enterprises : construction, appreciation, the solving of problems, and for games. See also Biss, *Primary Education in Bengal*, p. 48

4. *The provision of two acres of land for the larger village schools*, that can be used for games, drill and demonstration plots. Suitable sites for these purposes can often be provided by the provincial governments from vacant lands.

5. *Encouragement of interested village leaders to visit the schools* and see that they have the requisite equipment and conditions for good teaching. Such men need to be brought into full sympathy with the aims and work of the school.

E. PRIMARY SCHOOL ENROLMENT AND ATTENDANCE

British India, with 247 million people, has less than nine million in educational institutions of every kind and grade. Of the male population, 5·80 per cent., and of the female 1·21 per cent., are in school, or 3·48 per cent. of the total population.¹ This figure may be contrasted with the percentages in other countries:

| | 0 | 5 | 10 | PER CENTS. | | | |
|---------------|-------|-------|-------|------------|-------|----|------|
| | | | | 15 | 20 | 25 | |
| British India | _____ | | | | | | 3·48 |
| Japan | _____ | _____ | | | | | 14·3 |
| Great Britain | _____ | _____ | _____ | | | | 16·5 |
| United States | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | | 22·7 |

If British India had as large a proportion being educated as Japan, there would be 26·5 million more persons in school than the present number of 8,791,090. In the first five classes of all schools, British India has 7,226,021 children. At least twelve per cent. of the population should be in elementary schools.² At the present rate of about 215,000 new

¹ *Education in India, 1917-22*, II, p. 1.

The percentages of boys in the primary stage to the male population for the different provinces were (1922):

| | | | |
|--------------|------|-------------------|------|
| Bombay | 6·32 | Central Provinces | 3·82 |
| Madras | 5·95 | Bihar | 3·65 |
| Bengal | 5·21 | Punjab | 3·36 |
| Assam | 4·14 | U.P. | 3·23 |

² In 1921, 14·8 per cent. of the population were between the ages of 5 and 10, and 11·6 between 10 and 15, or a total of 26·4 per cent. (*Census, 1921*, p. 135.)

Protestant Christian agencies report 268,579 boys and 150,776 girls, or a total of 419,355 in their primary schools. Out of 2,340,991 Protestants, 176,360 children, or 7·5 per cent., are in their primary schools. (*National Missionary Council*, January 10-16, 1923, statistics.)

elementary pupils a year, assuming the population to remain stationary, it would take over a century for twelve per cent. to be included in the elementary schools. The percentage of children in school is affected by their social status.¹

Regulations as to compulsory attendance are actually in force in few of the municipalities and rural areas of India. They have been tried on a small scale in Baroda for thirty years, and have been in force over most of the State since 1907; although the literacy figures have shown marked improvement, they are not so high as in the neighbouring parts of British India.²

The situation with regard to the number of girls in school is specially serious.³ Counting in the figures for private as well as public institutions, the percentage of scholars to population was (1923):

| | | GIRLS | BOYS |
|-------------------------|----|-------|------|
| In the primary stage .. | .. | 1.18 | 4.67 |
| In all other stages .. | .. | 0.03 | 1.13 |
| All stages .. | .. | 1.21 | 5.80 |

Thus, in the primary stage, there is a quarter the proportion of girls that there is of boys, and in all other stages less than a thirty-seventh. In the primary stages of all schools, the percentage of the female population has risen:

¹ The percentages of all the boys of school-going age attending school are roughly estimated for the Central Division of Bombay: Brahmans, 100; other advanced Hindus, 86; Marathas, 36; other backward Hindus, 33; depressed classes (including aboriginal tribes), 13; Muhammadans, 63; others, 88. (*Bombay, 1920*, p. 39.)

² T. R. Pandya, *A Study of Education in Baroda*, pp. 52-56. In Baroda from 1901 to 1921 male literacy increased from 163 to 210 per 1,000, and that of females from 8 to 40. The figures are higher for the ages 10 to 15 and 15 to 20, being 281 and 355 respectively in the case of males, and 99 and 106 in the case of females. The literacy of several outcaste groups is considerably higher in Baroda than in the adjoining area of British Gujarat (1921).

Through the introduction of compulsion in rural areas of the Punjab, the percentage of pupils to the population has increased from 2.7 in 1921 to 3.75 in 1923. (*Education in the Punjab, 1923*, p. 3.)

³ "Education is essentially a question of social reform. . . . And in education, I would give first place to the education of girls. The education of a single girl means the uplifting of a whole family in a larger sense than the education of a single man." (K. Natarajan, Supplement to *Indian Social Reformer*, 1918, p. 10.)

| | | | |
|------|----|----|------|
| 1919 | .. | .. | 1.07 |
| 1921 | .. | .. | 1.14 |
| 1923 | .. | .. | 1.18 |

Although this is a rapid gain with reference to the starting point, at this same rate it will take ninety-eight years before twelve per cent. of the female population is included in the elementary stages of education !

The percentage of girls in school to female population varies greatly with the religious affiliation :

| | | | |
|-----------------------|----|----|------|
| Parsees | .. | .. | 14.8 |
| Indian Christians | .. | .. | 8.0 |
| Hindus : Brahmans | .. | .. | 2.6 |
| Buddhists | .. | .. | 1.9 |
| Moslems | .. | .. | 1.03 |
| Hindus . Non-Brahmans | .. | .. | 0.75 |
| Others | .. | .. | 0.44 |

These wide variations go to show that the obstacles to the education of girls are largely social and religious : early marriage ; early passing behind the parda, especially among the Moslems ; dominance of the conservative elder women, who oppose the education of girls and insist on their help in the household ; unwillingness of the fathers to spend much money on the schooling of their daughters who are soon to leave home.

Mention has been made in Chapter III of the untouchables, and the aboriginal and criminal tribes. Their school figures for boys and girls were as follows (1917) :

| | | POPULATION (THOUSANDS) | PERCENTAGE AT SCHOOL |
|-----------------|----|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| Untouchables | .. | 31,503 | 1.04 |
| Aboriginals | .. | 9,967 | 1.34 |
| Criminal Tribes | .. | 4,252 | 0.45 |

Even of those who are in school, the overwhelming majority are in the primary stage.¹ The main obstacles to their education are : refusal by many teachers of good castes to instruct them ; unwillingness of many caste people to have them taught ;² lack of tradition of education or desire for it ; precarious economic existence. The difficulties

¹ Fifty-eight per cent. of the depressed class pupils in 1923 were in the first class. (*Indian Education, 1923*, p. 38.)

² *Education in India, 1917-22*, I, p. 206.

that beset the aboriginal tribes in addition to the above are their shyness and dislike of organized activity, and their multifarious languages. In spite of many efforts to encourage the education of the depressed classes, the statement of the 1911 Census still largely holds true: "Though an improvement is taking place in many parts of India, low-caste children are still far from welcome in the village school; and if admitted are made to sit on the verandah."¹

The attendance of all pupils who are on the rolls would be not unsatisfactory if the returns of the schools were more accurate and represented presence at school for whole days. The percentage of the average daily attendance to the average number on the rolls monthly during the year, in all the primary schools of British India, is reported as follows:²

| | | | |
|------|----|----|------|
| 1919 | .. | .. | 78.4 |
| 1921 | .. | .. | 80.2 |
| 1923 | .. | .. | 75.5 |

There is little doubt that the percentage of attendance in the village schools by themselves would fall short of the above figures, which include also the town primary schools. In Assam, for example, which has few towns, only 71.9 per cent. of the enrolment was in attendance in 1917. In 794 mission primary schools, practically all in the villages, located in various provinces, the percentage of attendance was 73.9.³ The above percentages of average daily attendance may be compared with the figures for public institutions in other lands:⁴

¹ p. 292.

² The percentage of attendance for 1923 reported for different classes of institutions is:

| | PER CENT | NUMBER ON ROLL (THOUSANDS) |
|-----------------|----------|-------------------------------|
| Government .. | .. 82 | 167 |
| Local Bodies .. | .. 72 | 3,058 |
| Aided .. | .. 80 | 3,307 |
| Unaided .. | .. 77 | 503 |

³ From unpublished data collected by the Interchurch World Movement of North America.

⁴ The figure for England and Wales is from the *Board of Education Report, 1921-22*; those for Scotland and Ireland are for 1919, and are drawn from the *Statesman's Year Book*; and that for the United States from the *Biennial Survey of Education, 1916-18*.

| | | | | |
|-------------------|----|----|----|------|
| England and Wales | .. | .. | .. | 88.3 |
| Scotland | .. | .. | .. | 86.5 |
| Ireland | .. | .. | .. | 70.9 |
| United States | .. | .. | .. | 74.5 |

In full-time schools the number of hours in the school day is supposed to be between four and eight, but in many villages the actual session may be only two hours, especially when the teacher is visited only once or twice in the year and when the pupils are wanted for work in the fields. In other cases the teacher may be on hand for the full time, while the pupils flit in and out and are present half the time or less. Among 1,002 mission village schools, the hours in the school day were found to vary from 1.5 to 8, the median being at 5.

Part-time schools have only been successful in isolated places, except in the Central Provinces. Such schools, which may be held in the early morning and late evening, allow children to continue in school who are at the same time earning money and so not growing unaccustomed to physical labour. The success of these schools in the Central Provinces, after their organization on a broad scale in 1904, was partly due to their being the normal type of education for rural tracts and to their offering a completer course to those who desired it. In the Punjab and parts of Bombay and the United Provinces, part-time schools have proved unpopular, while in other places the experiment is still in progress. In these schools the curriculum usually has to be curtailed.

The number of days a year that a village school is in session is a highly variable quantity.¹ The school keeps in session for nine, ten or eleven months, punctuated by an enormous number of isolated holidays. The state recognizes many Hindu, Moslem and Christian holidays. Moreover, the village teacher leaves for a day or more, when he wishes to go to town on a lawsuit or other private business. The number of weeks in session of 980 mission village schools in various parts of India ranged between

¹ The writer has been in a school which had 241 school days one year and 186 the next, with no reasonable explanation of the difference.

thirty and fifty, with the median at forty-four. This is a high figure, inasmuch as school is held from four to six days a week, but many of these weeks are undoubtedly much broken up.¹

The school terms and vacations are often poorly adapted to meet the needs of children of agricultural labourers. Schools are frequently closed, not at a time when the pupils would find it hardest to attend them, but in a month when there is least work to do.

Some of the underlying difficulties are as follows: (a) The grinding poverty of the masses makes them unwilling to relinquish the services of their children, many being unable to do so under present standards of production and still keep the family alive.² School fees have some deterrent effect where they are charged, but not so much as the loss of the children's wages.³ (b) The villagers' conservatism prejudices them against any innovation, and makes them indifferent to schooling, the utility of which they question, often with good cause. (c) The upper classes and castes in the villages are often not only indifferent to the education of less fortunate villagers, but are actively opposed to it, since it is likely to interfere with the unquestioning obedience and service that has been offered by the lowest castes through the ages. (d) The debilitating effects of such diseases as malaria and hookworm,⁴ poor health, and the ravages of epidemics reduce the school enrolment and the percentage of attendance. (e) The hamlets and villages in which people live

¹ City schools in the United States average 182 days in session, and rural ones 142, the combined figure being 160·7. (*Biennial Survey of Education, 1916-18*, III, p. 15.)

² *Education in Bombay, 1921*, states that the problem of attendance in village schools is primarily economic and dependent on labour conditions. However, the Director of Public Instruction in the Central Provinces thinks that the economic factor has been exaggerated. (*Indian Education, 1919*, p. 2.) Certain it is that the number of pupils in schools drops during years of special famine and scarcity: in 1897 by 82,595, or 1·93 per cent.; in 1899 by 43,023, or 0·98 per cent.; in 1919 by 11,491, or 0·14 per cent.

³ See West, *Primary Education in Bengal*, p. 5.

⁴ Biss, *Primary Education in Bengal*, p. 49.

are often so isolated from each other as to render attendance difficult (during the hottest months and the monsoons) at schools outside the village where the children live. (f) Until recent years, government officials have been slow to plan and provide effectively for elementary education, and to consider equality of opportunity for all. The backwardness of British public education during the nineteenth century has contributed to this. (g) The resources that have been directed to elementary education have been insufficient for its proper development.

The following suggestions are offered :

1. In those areas where there are very insufficient funds, teachers, and buildings for giving a good primary education to all children, *those children who are least capable of profiting by school membership might be dropped from the rolls*; for example, such as have been extremely irregular in attendance without any excuse, and those who have repeatedly and patently proved themselves incapable of any successful study.

2. *Children under five or six* should be admitted only if suitable kindergarten activities could actually be provided for them.

3. *No unhealthy children* should be admitted unless they stood a reasonable chance of being made healthy, both on their own account and for the sake of the other children.¹

4. *Compulsory attendance should be extended* to those areas where funds allow an adequate supply of well qualified, well trained teachers, and facilities for good teaching. Wherever this becomes possible, it would go far towards solving many primary school problems.² If the

¹ The children now often have skin diseases and sore eyes. Many others are kept too long in cramped positions. Most of the outcaste children are dirty. The Surgeon General of Madras has stated: "Missions and others are trying to educate the uneducable, the phthisical, the epileptic, the short-sighted, and the deaf."

² "The great majority of children attending primary schools learn to read and write for not more than three years, and on returning to agricultural pursuits soon forget these attainments. The only cure for this evil is the introduction of the compulsory systems under which children can be retained in school until the primary course has been completed." (*India in 1920*, p. 167.) See *Education in the Punjab, 1923*.



A LOCAL BOARD SCHOOL

Only this number of caste children were attending at an unannounced visit
Two village officials were on hand, but not the teacher



THE SAME SCHOOL POSED

This time more children and clothes appeared The efforts to include outcaste children in such board schools have borne but meagre fruit.

attendance were compulsory and regular, the same number of children could be far better taught than at present.

5. *All possible efforts need to be made to keep the children on the rolls in regular attendance*;¹ including such means as: making instruction vitally interesting; asking interest in attendance on the part of visiting officials; making efforts to show clearly the good effects of school attendance; giving privileges or class banners for regular habits of attendance and promptness; awarding scholarships in more advanced schools based on regular primary work. Very strong motives must be called on to counterbalance the loss of wages that the children would earn if they were labouring.

6. The officials and teachers should make special efforts for the *enrolment and regular attendance of girls*, by such means as: increasing the present utterly inadequate supply of women teachers, as suggested in Chapter IX; adapting the courses to the needs of girls and the wishes of the parents.

7. *Efforts to remove the obstacles in the way of the depressed classes' receiving education*² need to be continued and increased. This work can best be done by those who really care for these downtrodden people.³

8. *Part-time schools with expert teachers*⁴ and the

¹ The most important factors tending toward better school attendance of rural children in the State of Maryland are: short distance from the school, success in studies, having well paid and highly rated teachers, and the interest in the community in education. (G. H. Reavis, *Factors Controlling Attendance in Rural Schools*.)

² The Madras Government has taken strong steps to secure the admission of the children of the depressed classes to all publicly managed schools. Bombay has set aside special funds for their education and has made a move for their being supplied free with books and slates. Baroda has done much excellent work since 1903.

³ *Education in Bombay, 1920*, p. 40.

⁴ The Village Education Commission suggests that: "In some districts a teacher with genuine rural interests, and the necessary training, could so organize the school, linking together a half day of schoolroom work with a half day of work in the fields (increased to whole time in the fields in the busiest seasons). The children would gain educationally, not only from the more intelligent attitude to field work so utilized, but also from the class-room work, relieved, as it probably would be, from so constant interruption of irregular atten-

platoon system of organization offer promising fields for experiment.

9. Where nearly all the pupils are the children of cultivators, *the school may well be closed or put on part-time during the busiest seasons* of sowing, transplanting, and harvesting. This practice, which is followed in the United Provinces and Bombay, allows the children to help their parents with their field work. At these times, the teachers can either go into the fields with their pupils or else attend teachers' meetings at central points.

F. RETARDATION AND ELIMINATION

The number of pupils in the first six classes of the recognized schools in British India was (1923) :

| CLASS ¹ | NUMBER | PER CENT. | LOSS FROM PRECEDING CLASS |
|--------------------|-----------------|-------------|---------------------------|
| I | .. 3,986,924 | 50·3 | |
| II | .. 1,343,798 | 16·9 | 2,643,126 |
| III | .. 924,665 | 11·6 | 419,133 |
| IV | .. 646,962 | 8·1 | 277,703 |
| V | .. 323,672 | 4·1 | 323,290 |
| VI | .. 219,058 | 2·8 | 104,614 |
| VII-XII | . 488,442 | 6·2 | 49,338 |
| | <hr/> 7,933,521 | <hr/> 100·0 | <hr/> 3,817,204 |

Thus, half the pupils in general institutions below college grade are in the first class,² more than two-thirds are below the third class, and nearly four-fifths are below the fourth class. This is extremely serious because, before the fourth class, pupils do not attain the kind of reading and writing ability that is likely to be permanent. Of the 41 pupils in the average primary school, 22 are likely to be in class I, $7\frac{1}{2}$ in class II, 5 in class III, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in IV, less than 2 in V, just

dance." (*Village Education in India*, p. 36.) An educator in the Bombay Presidency is using this idea with good success, some boys having learned to read the vernacular in six months.

¹ As in *Indian Education, 1923*, p. 26, class I represents the lowest class in the school, whether called infant class, sub-standard A, or class I.

² In Madras between 1917 and 1922 the percentage of pupils in the first standard rose from 43 to 50, while that in the fourth standard dropped from 13·4 to 10·4. (*Education in Madras, 1917-22*, I, p. 36.)

over 1 in VI. But the state of affairs in the village schools is much worse even than these figures show, because the figures include also the town schools, where fewer children are retarded and eliminated.

The proportion of the pupils below college grade who enter each class may be compared with that of the Parsees in India, and that in twenty-eight of the United States:

| CLASS | | | PER CENT BRITISH INDIA | ENTERING EACH PARSEES | CLASS 28 STATES ¹ |
|-------|----|----|---------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------|
| I | .. | .. | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| II | .. | .. | 49.7 | 82.3 | 77.7 |
| III | .. | .. | 32.8 | 71.1 | 65.8 |
| IV | .. | .. | 21.2 | 60.2 | 54.7 |
| V | . | .. | 13.1 | 50.1 | 43.9 |
| VI | .. | .. | 9.0 | 44.8 | 34.1 |

Thus, proportionately, nearly three times as many Parsees and Americans enter the fourth class, and four or five times as many enter the seventh class, as among the general population of India.

The first two classes of recognized schools in India contain five and a third million pupils, which is three-fifths of all the pupils and students at institutions of all kinds and grades, including the unrecognized schools. The millions who are in classes I and II of the village schools learn very little.

One evidence of the small expectation made of these classes is the large size of the group of under-age children. If there is only one teacher, he is likely to neglect these two classes almost entirely. Even when he does not, the children scarcely get beyond learning the alphabet and some arithmetical tables.² It is often two or three years before they finish the primer. Michael West, in a study of 551 Bengal children, found that it took them an average of 10.0 months in school to learn their letters, 12.4 to learn the syllables, 17.9 to read with difficulty, and 21.5 to read

¹ *United States Bureau of Education Bulletin, 1922, No. 29, p. 59.* Class I is taken as including the children in kindergarten.

² In one South India mission, among the depressed classes, out of the 4,050 children in the village day schools, 60 per cent. were in the bottom class, where there is nothing taught but memory work, and 34 per cent. in the next class.

well.¹ In some provinces, the codes say that one of the better teachers, if there is more than one, should be used for the lowest class, but the regulation is often neglected.

Inasmuch as India has almost no good kindergartens and extremely few trained women teachers for the lower grades, a large number of children start school too young. The children in school below five years of age in 1922 numbered 181,181, and those between five and six 753,186, forming 2·4 and 9·9 per cent. respectively of the total number in all schools. Often they are taught nothing at all during the first year, except to sit motionless and speechless.² The parents merely find the school a convenient place where their offspring can be taken off their hands.

The number of pupils who are under-age and over-age is large, in comparison to those who are normal, even if the normal age for a class is made to cover two years:

| CLASS ³ | INFANT A | INFANT B | I | II | III | IV |
|--------------------|-------------|-------------|-------|------|-------|-------|
| Normal age .. | 6-8 | 7-9 | 8-10 | 9-11 | 10-12 | 11-13 |
| Pupils (thousands) | 1,616 | 1,727 | 1,556 | 924 | 635 | 377 |
| Per cent : | | | | | | |
| Under-age .. | 30 | 39 | 42 | 32 | 31 | 33 |
| Normal .. | 46 | 38 | 34 | 38 | 36 | 38 |
| Over-age .. | 24 | 23 | 24 | 30 | 33 | 29 |

These figures for all India show a proportion in the normal age group less than two-thirds that in the United States, which is a very serious state of affairs:

| | 133 UNITED STATES CITIES (25,000 AND OVER) | UNITED STATES CITIES (UNDER 25,000) | INDIA AVERAGES |
|--------------|---|--|-------------------|
| Percentage . | | | |
| Under-age .. | 4 | 4·5 | 35·6 |
| Normal .. | 61 | 58·5 | 38·8 |
| Over-age .. | 35 | 37·0 | 25·6 |

The median child below 5 of those in school in 1922 was in the infant class A; the median child of 5 (5 to 6), of 6, of

¹ *Primary Education in Bengal*, Appendix, p. vii.

² "Actually in the schools children are found as young as four years old, but the teachers do not pretend to teach them anything." (West, *Primary Education in Bengal*, p. 1.)

³ The terminology used in the table that classifies pupils by ages (*Education in India, 1917-22*, II, p. 64) is here followed. It is not satisfactory, since it does not fit the school systems of all provinces.

7 and of 8 were all in infant class B; the median child of 9 was in class I; those of 10 and 11 in class II; the median child of 12 in class III and that of 13 (13 to 14) in class IV. Thus, for those pupils who remain in school, ten years is commonly spent in going through class IV. However, the average length of school life is less than four years.

The range of age in each class, omitting the ages where there are less than 10,000 pupils, is as follows:

| CLASS | LOWEST | MEDIAN | HIGHEST |
|-------------|---------|--------|---------|
| Infant A .. | Below 5 | 6-7 | 12-13 |
| Infant B .. | Below 5 | 7-8 | 13-14 |
| I .. | Below 5 | 8-9 | 14-15 |
| II .. | 6-7 | 9-10 | 14-15 |
| III .. | 7-8 | 11-12 | 15-16 |
| IV .. | 8-9 | 11-12 | 15-16 |

In few single schools would the range of age be so great as shown by these figures for the whole of India, but usually large differences in age greatly augment the teacher's difficulties and lessen his efficiency.

The age groups 6-7 and 7-8, each have a seventh of all the pupils in schools for general education. The children who are older than this are eliminated as shown in the following table:

| AGE | NUMBER | LOSS FROM 7-8 GROUP NUMBER | PER CENT. |
|----------|-----------|-------------------------------|-----------|
| 7-8 .. | 1,089,826 | | |
| 8-9 .. | 995,857 | 93,969 | 8·6 |
| 9-10 .. | 838,675 | 251,151 | 23·0 |
| 10-11 .. | 688,343 | 401,483 | 36·8 |
| 11-12 .. | 547,121 | 542,705 | 49·8 |
| 12-13 .. | 421,671 | 668,155 | 61·3 |
| 13-14 .. | 308,960 | 780,866 | 71·8 |
| 14-15 .. | 219,602 | 870,224 | 80·0 |

The average stay of pupils in the primary school is figured to be 3·8 years for the children in school from 1912 to 1917.¹ Less than one-tenth of the pupils entering

¹ The actuary to the Government of India, Dr. Walker, calculates that the figure for those leaving school in 1911-12 was 3·6 years, and for those leaving in 1916-17 was 4·2. See *Education in India, 1912-17*, I, p. 122; II, pp. 89-91.

The United States figure for the attendance at school by all who became 21 years of age in 1918 was 5·38 years (of 200 days each). (*Biennial Survey of Education, 1916-18*, III, p. 13.)

school are said to complete the four years necessary for the production of literacy in a child.¹ Although Bengal and Bombay are advanced in education, the following reports come from those provinces: in the lower primary schools of Bengal, 45 per cent. of the boys leave school at the end of the second year or earlier.² "It must be admitted that a very large percentage of children who join a school never reach the fourth standard, and thus cannot be said to become literate."³ School life in the villages alone is even shorter than is shown by the figures just given, which include the urban sections. The village primary school may have five or six classes, but very often it has only one, two, or three.

The main underlying difficulties are that: the number of well qualified teachers, especially women, is small; the lowest class or classes are commonly slighted, with the result that the children acquire an apathetic attitude at the very beginning which is hard to break; the curricula and the teaching methods do not spur the children to their best efforts; the system of capitation grants in some provinces has put a premium on large enrolment in school, even though the children may be neglected; the parents have little interest in their children's continuing in school or making rapid progress;⁴ attendance by the children is irregular and the number of hours attended

¹ *Government of India Resolution 437*, May 29, 1918.

² West, *Primary Education in Bengal*, p. 3. Biss estimates that only about one in five children in Bengal at school really become literate; and he says: "The primary schools in the country are bad. They are often used as *crèches* rather than schools, and parents value them so little that of the 540,000 children in the first year infant class, they remove nearly 170,000 after the first year, an additional 116,500 after the second year, and over four lakhs before the final year of the primary school is reached." (Biss, *Primary Education in Bengal*, 1921, p. 15.)

³ *Public Instruction, Bombay*, 1921, p. 16.

⁴ "The cultivator has not yet learned to value education as an equipment for his life; he often fears, not without reason, that his children may be tempted away from the land by a system of training which has no bearing upon the work in the fields." (*Calcutta University Commission Report*, I, p. 27.)

daily is small; moreover, the pressing need for the children's services takes them out of school.¹

The following next steps are suggested:

1. *Provision for the progress of the children in the two lowest grades:* by holding the head teacher directly responsible,² and having him keep a list showing the number of years that each child has been in his present class; by placing the children under five or six in *crèches*, if the necessary care can be provided;³ and by bettering the attendance in the ways outlined above.

2. *The improvement of instruction:* by assigning the best teacher to the lowest grade or grades;⁴ by teaching the school subjects so as to call forth more interest from the children; and by preparing the village teachers to use the children's time profitably, for good teaching tends to lessen both retardation and elimination.

3. *Increase of the parents' desire to have their children complete the primary course:* by careful explanations on the part of the teacher of the advantages of

¹ The effect of mentality is not definitely known. A comparison of 355 Brahman and 355 Adi-Dravida children in South India with each other and with 1,572 children in America has been made by means of the Goddard Form Board. (D. S. Herrick, *Journal of Applied Psychology*, September, 1921, pp. 253-60.) At most ages the Adi-Dravida medians were from 1 to 4 seconds slower than the Brahman medians, which in turn were 5 to 8 seconds slower than the American medians, except at the ages of four and five. The great defect with the investigation is that the Goddard Form Board is not a good test of intelligence, although it does obviate linguistic obstacles.

² As an example of this, see *Education in Punjab, 1920*, p. 29.

³ "The village mothers probably appreciate the village schools more as a nursery for these babies than for any other service rendered; but they are very disturbing elements in the school, and, further, do not themselves fare well there." (*Village Education in India*, pp. 34 and 125.) Such *crèches* would furnish practical training for the older girls, both in personal hygiene and child welfare.

⁴ This brought immediate good results in the United Provinces. (Conference of Directors of Public Instruction, January, 1917, p. 5.) The Calcutta University Commission points out as one of the three great changes in Western educational thought during the last 25 years: "The extreme importance of the early stages of education has been more fully recognized. They should foster the healthy growth of mind and body through activities that call for initiative and self-expression, and at the same time teach assiduity and self-restraint." (*Report*, V, p. 72.)

staying until the end; and by making five or six years of instruction the standard length of time before children leave school, in both publicly managed and aided primary schools, where this is not already the case.¹

4. *Stimulation of the children's incentives to rapid progress*: by facilitating the promotion of the brighter pupils more than once a year;² and by letting children see their own progress in graphic form, and learn to make record of it.

G. RESOURCES

Compared with other countries, India's *per capita* expenditure on education (from all sources) is very low:

| | RUPEES FOR EDUCATION (MILLIONS) | POPULATION (MILLIONS) | PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE (RUPEES) |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| British India, 1922-23 | .. 190 | 247 | 0.77 ³ |
| United Kingdom, 1918-19 | .. 798 | 46 | 17.3 ⁴ |
| United States, 1919-20 | .. 3,924 | 106 | 37.0 ⁵ |

Educational expenditure claims 5 per cent. of the revenues of the central and provincial governments taken together, or about 9 per cent. of the provincial revenues by themselves. Some of the progressive Indian States that have no large standing armies have much better percentages,⁶ Baroda, for example, having 11 per cent.

¹ The United Provinces has restricted the use of the term "primary school" to those schools having the full six grades, schools with lower work being called "feeder schools," to be attached to neighbouring institutions. (*Education in the United Provinces, 1912-17*, p. 45.)

² See the favourable comment on this in *Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers*, p. 12, Board of Education, England and Wales.

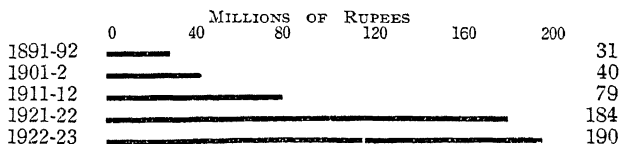
³ *Indian Education, 1923*, p. 25.

⁴ *Statesman's Year Book*. The figures include money expended for education from private sources; they are reduced at the rate of Rs. 15 to the pound.

⁵ *Bulletin, 1923, No. 16*, p. 2, United States Bureau of Education. At Rs. 3 to the dollar.

⁶ In 1922-23 the main objects of expenditure, provincial and central together, were: military services 33 per cent., railways 12 per cent., police, jails, and justice 9 per cent., public debt 8 per cent., general administration 5 per cent., civil works 5 per cent., education 5 per cent., land revenue 3 per cent., forests 2 per cent., irrigation 2 per cent., and public health 2 per cent. Railways, land revenue, and irrigation brought in more revenue than they cost. (*India in 1924*, pp. 105-6.)

The expenditures on education from all sources have shown a healthy growth, even allowing for the depreciation of the rupee :



The distribution of the expenditure on recognized institutions in India in 1922-23 may be compared with that for the United States in 1919-20:¹

| | | | PER CENT. OF WHOLE | |
|--------------------------------------|----|----|--------------------|-------|
| | | | INDIA | U.S. |
| Universities and colleges | .. | .. | 11·7 | 7·9 |
| Secondary schools | .. | .. | 18·4 | 24·1 |
| Middle and primary schools | .. | .. | 37·2 | 65·4 |
| Special (including training) schools | .. | .. | 7·7 | 2·1 |
| Miscellaneous expenditures | .. | .. | 25·0 | 0·5 |
| | | | 100·0 | 100·0 |

It is significant that the proportion expended for middle and primary schools in the United States is so much larger than in India, while that for universities and colleges is less, even allowing for differences in classification.

Primary education has suffered severely from the lack of adequate funds. In most parts of India, as in Bengal, there has been "one long struggle to meet an impossible situation with wholly inadequate funds."² The total direct expenditure (excluding money for buildings, inspection and scholarships, etc.) on primary schools in British India was Rs. 45,777,553 in 1922-23, or an average of Rs. 315 for a school. Expressed as the annual cost of educating one primary pupil, the amounts for British India are extremely low (1922-23):

¹ Miscellaneous expenditures in India include the important items of buildings, inspection and scholarships. The figure for special schools in the U.S. column includes only normal schools and teachers' colleges. Much collegiate education in the U.S. is supported privately. (*United States Bureau of Education Bulletin*, 1923, No. 16, p. 2.)

² Biss, *Primary Education in Bengal*, 1921, p. 11.

| SOURCE | | RUPEES | PER CENT. |
|----------------------|-------|------------------|-----------|
| Government funds | | 4.3 | 54.3 |
| Board funds | | 2.1 | 26.6 |
| Fees | | 0.8 | 9.9 |
| Other sources | | 0.7 | 9.2 |
| Total cost per pupil | | 7.9 ¹ | 100.0 |

About three-quarters of the money devoted to primary education comes from public sources in Madras, five-sixths in Bombay, but only one-half in Bengal.² A considerable proportion of the money spent by provincial governments, and some of that from local funds, is spent in grants-in-aid to privately managed institutions.³

The fees for primary education are low (averaging annas 13.5 in boys' primary schools in 1922); and in most parts of India the tendency is to reduce or abolish them.

As a result of the recent constitutional changes, the education of Indians in each province is administered by Indian ministers who are answerable to the elected legislative council of the province. However, the total amount to be spent for education is determined by the governor with all his councillors and ministers. The awakening of the national spirit and the new political reforms have tended to direct popular attention toward education in general,⁴ but they have not as yet largely increased the willingness to

¹ The corresponding figures for an elementary pupil in the United States are Rs. 95.0 for public schools and Rs. 109.7 for private schools. (*Biennial Survey of Education, 1916-18*, III, p. 9.) The elementary course in the United States includes about two more years of school than does the Indian primary course.

² Biss, *op. cit.*, p. 18. In the United States only three-tenths of the money for schools was supplied (1920) by State and national governments. (*Teachers' College Record*, May, 1924, p. 219.)

³ The grant-in-aid is sometimes paid on the attendance of the scholars, sometimes on the qualifications of the teacher, sometimes upon the difference between income and expenditure.

⁴ According to *Indian Education in 1921*, (p. 6): "The new and most important factor now introduced is the complete and successful arousing of public interest. The general middle class public are now awake for the first time, actually conscious of educational defects. And with this awakening has come, apparently, the beginning of a readiness to subscribe funds for educational work."

pay for better schools. Fortunately, some people are willing to spend their own money in support of education.¹

The financial resources available for primary education have been low on account of the following factors: the insistence of other financial demands on the finances that are met before education is even considered; the prevailing reluctance of the rural people to lay any cess on themselves for education;² and the placid indifference of the cultivators and the general public to the welfare of the village schools, which has been so common.

It is suggested:

1. *To make the money that is expended for primary education more productive* by such means as: combining any recognized schools that overlap or compete, as suggested earlier in this chapter; gradually introducing compulsory attendance;³ leaving no teachers destitute of the training and guidance needed for larger results;⁴ maintaining literacy at a slight cost in those persons by whom it has been gained by considerable expenditure; and introducing administrative economies.⁵ If such means are used, the expenditure necessary for far more efficient schools would not be prohibitive.⁶

¹ The Meo cultivators in a Punjab district raised a voluntary levy in 1923, equal to one-tenth of the land revenue, which very few of them neglected to pay. They started their own middle school, which was soon raised to a high school. (*Education in the Punjab, 1923*, p. 24.)

² But 55 taluk boards in Madras have done so. (*Education in India, 1923*, p. 8.)

³ For testimony as to the saving secured by compulsion, see *India in 1922-23*, pp. 241-42.

⁴ The Punjab Government has declared: "The provision of an adequate staff of teachers should be the first charge against the education resources of local bodies." (*Education in the Punjab, 1923*, p. 7.)

⁵ The Punjab and United Provinces have made considerable savings by making their Directors of Public Instruction also Education Secretaries to Government. (*Education in India, 1917-22*, p. 31.) (*Education in the Punjab, 1923*, p. 15.)

⁶ Biss concludes, after a detailed investigation of 23 union areas in the rural parts of Bengal (out of about 6,700 such areas), that the average cost per holding of land of providing all boys between six and ten with free primary education, is about a rupee and a quarter per annum. (*Primary Education in Bengal*, p. 53.)

2. To continue to *enlist private resources* in education by means of the grant-in-aid system;¹ and to modify it progressively so that inefficiency will be steadily diminished, by further increasing the grants to schools where the teachers are well trained and the instruction is superior, and decreasing or stopping them where the instruction is inferior.

3. *To provide for a larger degree of support for primary schools from the district and the taluk* (or sub-district), without considerably lessening the aid from provincial revenues.² With increased local support is likely to go increased interest and a wholesome insistence that the primary schools show good results. In those cases where the people are too poor to afford an educational cess, or are entirely unwilling to levy a cess themselves, more familiar means for increasing the resources of the primary school may be temporarily used, such as getting the poorer people to unite in contributing their labour in the building and repairing of village school houses,³ and taking up voluntary subscriptions of money or farm produce.

4. *To increase the resources from which money for education can be derived.* This can be done in rural areas, through training the peasants to greater productiveness, co-operation and thrift, as outlined in Chapter VIII; through

¹ The principles laid down in the great Educational Despatch of 1854 are sound. Government gains from the co-operation of voluntary bodies in educational work. The voluntary bodies, on their part, may derive great benefit from cordial co-operation with government. The grant-in-aid system has been beneficial in its results both in England and in India. (Sir Michael Sadler, "Village Education in India," *International Review of Missions*, October, 1920, p. 507.)

² By the recent Madras Elementary Education Act, any local authority may levy a cess not exceeding 25 per cent. of the property, company and professional taxes. A contribution is then provided from provincial funds, which equals or exceeds the amount of the cess.

³ "It is most desirable that people be encouraged and assisted to put up sanitary buildings for their own schools." (*Education in Bombay, 1921*.) In the Philippines, "it is no uncommon occurrence for all the people of a *barrio* (village) to work in securing voluntary contributions of cash and of materials, in clearing a school site, and

promoting more vigorous health based on better sanitary conditions; and through inculcating desirable habits and attitudes in the school children.¹ In addition, it is possible to increase the prosperity of India as a whole by the means briefly mentioned in Chapter I.

5. *To cultivate keen appreciation and respect on the part of the public for the work of the village school*, by making it of service to the daily life of the village, by letting it foster the spirit of national unity,² and by showing the worth of its present and possible usefulness.

6. *To increase rapidly the expenditure* on strengthening and spreading village education, since this is a time when millions of literate voters are imperatively demanded.³ Where aided schools cannot be made efficient, much of the enlarged funds will be used for starting and maintaining publicly managed schools.

7. *To encourage the building up of endowments and other permanent sources of income for rural education*, for

in erecting a building. The present state of development of school sites and of buildings could not have been reached without this enthusiastic support of the people." (*Report of the Director of Education, Philippine Islands, 1918, p. 76.*)

¹ "The most important consideration of all, in determining cost, is the fact that the right form of mass education increases the productivity of local communities so substantially as to more than recompense the government for the expenditure made." (T. J. Jones, *Education in Africa*, p. 59.) "A good education confers great indirect benefits even on the ordinary workman. It stimulates his mental activity; it fosters in him a habit of a wise inquisitiveness; it makes him more intelligent, more trustworthy in his ordinary work; it raises the tone of his life in working hours and out of working hours; it is thus an important means towards the production of material wealth." (Alfred Marshall, *Principles of Economics*, Book IV, Chapter VI, p. 205.)

² "The only method by which the idea of nationhood can spread among her vast population, including as it does a multitude of diverse races, castes and creeds, is through a genuine system of national education, which shall enlist in the work of nation-building the generous emotions of Indian youths." (*India in 1922*, p. 231.)

³ "Expenditure to a figure hitherto undreamed must be faced courageously and speedily. For, without education, India will be confronted in no long time with that supreme peril of modern States, an uninformed but omnipotent electorate." (*India in 1920* p. 163.)

this will encourage the steady maintenance of work.¹ The problem of floating educational bonds for permanent improvements may well be investigated.

¹ Mysore requires that after three years all schools receiving aid should have an income from endowments, subscriptions, etc., of a permanent nature equal to a quarter of their expenditure.

About \$1,000,000 dollars have been set aside in the United States for the aid of common schools. (Finney and Schafer, *Administration of Village and Consolidated Schools*, p. 15.)

CHAPTER V

PROBLEMS OF CURRICULUM AND INSTRUCTION

A. Relation of School and Outside Activities.—B. Courses Aiming at General Development.—C. Courses Aiming at Particular Attainments.—D. The Curriculum As a Whole.—E. Methods of Instruction.—F. Organization of the School.

THE village primary school requires to be redirected, so that it will more fully enable the children to become intelligent and worthy citizens. Instead of being static, the school should be an agency that is progressing steadily in the efficiency with which it carries on its work. No teacher, even if well trained, can completely change the village school at a single bound, but every trained teacher can take long steps forward toward making the school a stronger and more vital agency in the village community.

A. RELATION OF SCHOOL AND OUTSIDE ACTIVITIES

The outlook of the village is extremely limited, and its health conditions appallingly bad, as pointed out in previous chapters. During the brief years when the village children are on the school rolls, most of their time is spent outside of school, on account of the hours of the day and the days of the week regularly passed at home and in the field, and because of the times of sickness and special work, and the holidays and vacations. Even supposing that the attendance were regular for four hours a day during 182 days a year, the children would spend only one-twelfth of their total time in school, or about one-eighth of their waking

hours. The seven-eighths of time out of school often deadens or counteracts the work that is done in school. During this time the village boys and girls have a variety of occupations and duties.¹

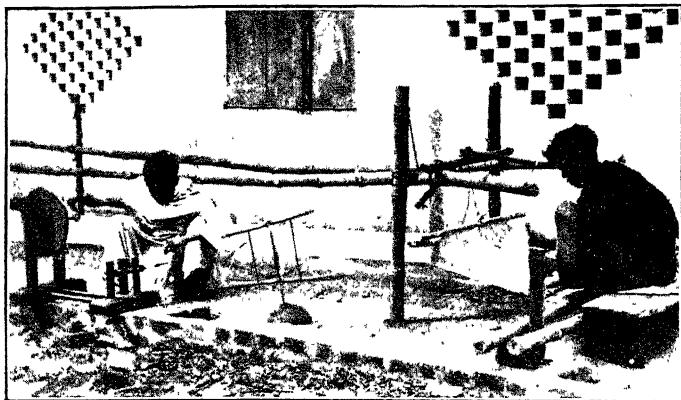
The following suggestions are offered:

1. The acceptance by the school of those *functions in the education of children that cannot better be performed by other agencies*, especially: (a) That of furnishing as broad an outlook and understanding as possible of the life of the motherland, by such means as stories, pictures, books and songs. The material considered at the beginning of the school course can well be related to the objects and things with which the children are familiar. However, if it ends, as it so often does, with agriculture and fields, about which the children may know as much as the books tell them, the children receive no broadened vision. (b) That of teaching the children those habits of good health which their parents have never acquired. (c) That of teaching such subjects as reading and writing, in which more systematic exercises and drills are needed in order to produce results than would be arranged in the home.

2. *The co-ordination of the experiences of children in school with their experiences outside*, so that they will reinforce, instead of counteract, each other. The teacher could encourage his pupils in keeping home gardens,² in caring for a few chickens or in carrying on some other useful, but simple, work of the kind. A brief and accurate record of what is being done and of any money that is

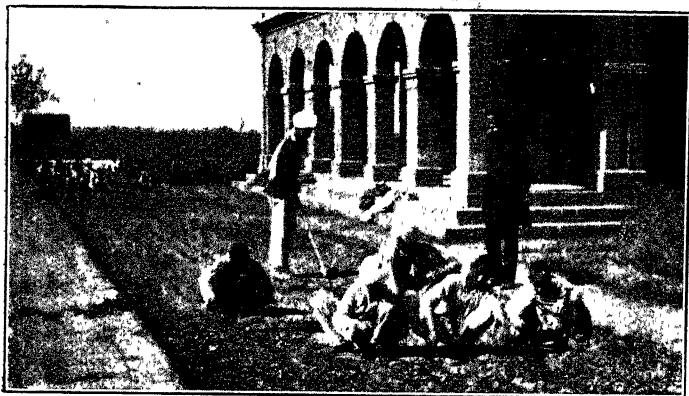
¹ The boys commonly tend the cattle, sheep and goats, and help their fathers in agricultural operations. "The girl is a very busy member of the Indian village home. She draws water from the well, pounds and winnows the rice or other cereal for food, gathers firewood, cleans the house, and in every interval of freedom from these duties carries on her hip the inevitable baby, of whose care she is almost entirely ignorant." (*Village Education in India*, p. 68.)

² The teachers themselves should be helped to set examples of good vegetable and flower gardens, as is done in Denmark. In the Philippines 103,668 home gardens were cultivated by primary and intermediate pupils in 1918, as against 4,023 school gardens the same year; public school pupils to the number of 17,975 are members of agricultural clubs. (*Report of the Director of Education, 1918*, pp. 38, 50.)



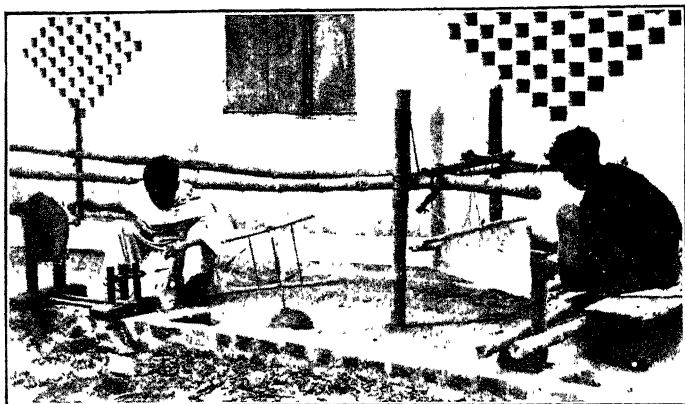
SPINNING AND WEAVING

The charka and loom form a regular part of the training of Dr. Tagore's rural reconstruction work



GARDENING AT MOGA

The observation and study of nature, combined with work in raising garden and field crops, are truly educative.



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spent, adds greatly to the educational value.¹ To encourage such activity, the teacher may well organize the boys and girls of a village (or adjoining villages) into groups for definite work, such as raising poultry, and also for learning efficient methods and new information.² The teacher, if there is time, should visit the children when they are engaged in important activities outside of the school, with a view to linking them with the school lessons.³ The children would profit from knowing work songs that they can sing while labouring in the fields or pastures.⁴

3. A strong emphasis on the *development of viewpoints and attitudes in the children that will make for better community life*, such as those of problem solving, reflective action, and working together.

B. COURSES AIMING AT GENERAL DEVELOPMENT

Indian villagers have many virtues and weaknesses of a passive nature. Through the compulsion of the caste system and of various strong social traditions, they display tendencies toward implicit obedience, temperate gentleness and patient resignation;⁵ fatalism, easy discouragement and

¹ In one Indian village school, for example, the pupils keep a record of the number of eggs laid by the different strains of poultry in the neighbourhood. In some cases the children can learn to care for calves, kids, or lambs, or in special areas for tussur or true silk worms, etc.

² Such clubs have proved of enormous value in the United States. In Wisconsin alone 21,000 young people belong to four clubs working for the development of head, hand, heart, and health.

³ This has been done for many years with excellent results in the Penn School, St. Helena Island, South Carolina. "From the standpoint of the child, a great waste in the school comes from his inability to utilize the experience he gets outside the school in any complete and free way within the school itself; while, on the other hand, he is unable to apply in his daily life what he is learning at school. That is the isolation of the school—its isolation from life." (John Dewey, *The School and Society*, 2nd Edition, p. 67.)

⁴ Note what is being done in this way at Bishop Azariah's school, in the Telugu country. (Fleming, *Schools with a Message in India*, p. 57.)

⁵ "The Hindu lad," says Sir Henry Sharp, "is not loutish, like the lower class English boy; but quiet, self-respecting, deferential, and well-mannered. He is endowed with much (rather superficial) common-sense, aplomb and self-possession." See also Chapter III above.

superstition. Most of them are hopelessly at the mercy of natural forces, or irrational tradition, and of money-lenders and others who dominate their lives. Consequently, they easily slip into a state of mental lethargy, in which they rely blindly upon custom and authority, instead of thinking their problems through, or persistently carrying out their own purposes.

The antagonisms of caste, religion and race divide people of the same village. The peasants are separated not only from their fellow villagers, but also from the people of the towns, where some of the bonds of custom and caste are gradually being broken. On account of their isolation, they are liable to be suspicious of co-operating with others.

The results of the Indian schools on character have been distinctly unsatisfactory.¹ As to religious teaching, the aided schools have always been allowed to introduce any sort, provided that this did not interfere with the secular instruction; but religion has done too little to strengthen morality. The unrecognized schools exist largely in order to teach children to recite or read religious books,² usually in a classical language, such as Sanskrit or Arabic. In response to a strong demand for religious instruction in the publicly managed schools, the Government of India announced, in 1921, that they had no objection to it.³

The village schools generally do nothing to encourage thinking, as their predominant emphasis is on absorption and memorization. Even the instruction about village transactions, and about the life of the people outside, which might easily be made of real value, is usually very limited and uninspiring. Where nature study and geography are taught in the villages, they consist mostly of the dull memorizing of disconnected names and terms. The pupils know almost nothing of the history and conditions of India.

¹ "The failure of the Indian educational system to train the character has often been criticized, and with justice." (*Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms*, p. 151.)

² "Especially in India the religious requirements are among those which claim the foremost place and, in the case of some sections of the people, the very first, if not the only desideratum of an educational system." (Biss, *Primary Education in Bengal*, p. 31.)

³ *Indian Education in 1921*, p. 18.

Moreover, they have very little play, either inside or outside the school, and their health is practically neglected.

In order to improve these conditions, the following suggestions are set forth :

1. *The development through practice of strong character and habits of service in the children* by: (a) Emphasizing cordial community life in the school all the time,¹ more than ethical instruction at certain periods. Instruction about morals may not produce a moral effect upon the children ; in fact, it may secure the opposite effect ; but well guided social life in the school with many shared interests does tend to make the children more truly moral and to develop common standards of action that are more effective than any arbitrarily imposed standards can be. The school is immediately concerned with seeing that service and co-operation are being practised within its walls.² (b) Furnishing practice in village service, and fostering the willingness to co-operate with others in gaining common purposes,³ and to serve ever wider groups. (c) Giving the children instruction in village rights and duties, and practice in helping other villagers.⁴ (d) Strengthening children's consciences and motives through vital religious instruction and worship.

2. *The strengthening of a sense of national unity and a hearty loyalty to the best in India's past and*

¹ "The school itself should constitute a community. This is done not by mere physical proximity on the part of the pupil, but by sharing in common ends and so awakening the interest of each, that individual activity is regulated by these common ends." (*Village Education in India*, p. 75.)

² "Education is not the same thing as information nor does it deal with human knowledge as divided into so-called subjects. It is not a storing of compartments in the mind." (*Teaching of English in England*, p. 8.) Ruskin said : "Education does not mean teaching people to know what they do not know ; it means teaching them to behave as they do not behave."

³ The maxims suggested by Voelker, in *The Function of Ideals in Social Education* (pp. 31-41), are of great use in promoting a higher kind of school life and better relationships toward larger social or political groupings.

⁴ For discussions on social service in India, see *Village Education in India*, pp. 79-80 ; D. J. Fleming, *Schools with a Message in India*, Chapter IX and pp. 170-71 ; also the same writer's *Social Study, Service and Exhibits*.

*present*¹ by such means as stories, pictures, and songs concerning the country's famous and beautiful places, noble epics, greatest characters, and noblest aspirations.

3. *Promotion of the study of the natural environment* through observation, excursions, reading, reasoning on the information that has been gained, and experimenting with principles that have been formulated.² By means of the right kind of observation and study of nature, the rural child can gain two great benefits: a better understanding of the workings of natural forces and a livelier appreciation of the beauties and wonders on every side.³

4. *Encouragement of the children's appreciation of the meaning and value of good literature*, by means of: (a) The reading aloud of the best suitable literature in the earliest grades, covering a wide range of stories, travel accounts, and natural wonders. The children will thus have their imagination aroused, and can then be asked to give the story of what was read in their own words. (b) The silent reading of simple books, and reporting on them to their class or the whole school. (c) The stimulation of children to dramatize simple scenes connected with the school work. If anything that is acted by the children is specially well done or worth detailed attention, it can be carefully worked

¹ *Indian Education in 1921*, p. 5, says: "There is a widespread demand for fuller recognition of Indian culture and aspirations, for fuller treatment of what India has contributed and may contribute to civilization, and for a more direct call to national service."

Some of the important elements in India's heritage may be summarized: profound religious aspirations; elaborate philosophic systems; scientific and mathematical discoveries; treasures of art, architecture, and music; respect for the aged and the learned, emphasis on gentleness and tolerance, and on modesty in women; intimate personal relationship between teacher and pupil; the obligation to care for even distant relatives; and unwillingness to take life.

² The village child can thus be led to become "an observer, a thinker and an experimentalist, even on a humble scale," as Sir Henry Sharp advocated. Observation may be directed to the habits, peculiarities and life histories of the animals in the neighbourhood, both large and small; to various members of the vegetable kingdom; and to the factors affecting the weather. School gardens are a useful adjunct to this work.

³ See Fleming's *Schools with a Message in India*, Chapter VIII and pp. 171-73.

up and shown to the admiring parents.¹ (d) The gathering by the children of Indian legends, folk tales, and proverbs from their parents, and their reporting on them, with competitions to see which classes or pupils can find the best ones. (e) The singing of simple lyrics and songs that they can use in their play and work.² Action songs to express continued ideas also have immense possibilities.³

5. *Work for the physical health and growth of the children*, including: (a) Inculcating good health habits in the children;⁴ and showing them how to keep the school-room and their own homes healthful and clean. (b) Teaching the children how to play a good variety of games that need little equipment, especially the indigenous games.⁵ The most suitable kinds of games are those that are based on normal play interests and develop such interests; that are adapted to exercise the mind and body; and that can be played at home or in the fields as well as in school. (c) Giving special attention to the health of the girls, since the women are especially likely to have weak physiques, and since young girls are forced to bear children at such a very early age. (d) Using a combination of good points of indigenous and European methods for physical drill.⁶

¹ In *Some South Indian Villages*, Gilbert Slater suggests that dramatic representations are a better method of giving an appreciation of vernacular literature than verbal skill.

² "We feel strongly that the music of a people is a heritage that must not be dissociated from its school." (*Village Education in India*, p. 33.)

³ Read Fleming's *Schools with a Message in India*, pp. 116-21.

⁴ The rules suggested by Dr. Arthur Lankester for India, after long study of conditions, show the kind of health habits that are most urgently needed: "Keep your house clean, light, and airy; keep its surroundings free from dirt and standing water; avoid spitting indoors; sleep with open windows and uncovered face; keep your body clean and your mind pure; take regular exercise for the development of your muscles and lungs; carefully preserve your food and drink from contamination."

⁵ Most Indian village children suffer from having far too little play life. Bobbitt says: "Mental play is Nature's active method for filling the mind with information." (*The Curriculum*, p. 9.) In the Philippine Islands, the pupils of all grades are required to participate in organized games and athletics, for at least half an hour every day.

⁶ See, for example, the methods suggested in *Rural Schools in the Central Provinces*, pp. 86-88.

C. COURSES AIMING AT PARTICULAR ATTAINMENTS

Most village children are brought up in an atmosphere where illiteracy prevails. Few are the incentives in village and home life for acquiring and retaining literacy, because little call for the ability to read and write is made by the usual village occupations, when they are carried on in the inefficient way at present so common. Nevertheless, the call for literacy is gradually tending to become more insistent, because written communication is daily growing more familiar; some villagers are migrating to work in industrial centres; and the franchise has been extended to millions of men and women in the rural areas.

Reading, writing and arithmetic, in their most formal phases, compose almost the whole present curriculum of the village primary school. Much time is wasted in the reiteration of material already learned. Other subjects are slighted unless they are stringently required by the regulations and the inspecting staff.

The medium of instruction is either the vernacular of the pupils, the prevailing vernacular of the area, or sometimes a difficult literary language connected with one of the vernaculars. The alphabets are extremely difficult, most of them containing from 200 to 500 sound combinations.¹

Reading is generally very inefficiently taught.² In many

¹ Since the Indian alphabets use a single symbol to represent a syllable or two consonants, the number of symbols that must be learned to read a language is appalling. In some of the languages it amounts to over 600. The scripts also cause serious strain to the eyesight of the learners. (Weitbrecht-Staunton, "Education and Script in India," *International Review of Missions*, July, 1918, p. 8.)

² "There can be no doubt that the early stages of learning to read take up a wholly disproportionate amount of the short time at a child's disposal during his school life, and the noisy reiteration of meaningless vocables hypnotizes the children into a respectable stupidity." (Biss, *Primary Education in Bengal*, 1921, p. 49.)

Some educational authorities in India have a false conception that learning the three R's is simply a formal, mechanical process that does not involve any ideas. For example, West writes (*Education*, p. 158): "The acquirement of the power to read involves no question of ideas, it is a simple act of skill; and writing is a simple act of skill; elementary arithmetic is a simple act of skill, and whether a boy learns them by cramming or by any other process appears to me to make not twopenny-worth of difference, so long as he can read and write, and there is no more to be said."

villages there are only one or two reading books for the whole school; and in few village schools are there sufficient to go around. Even those that do exist have serious faults that render them unsuited for use in the villages, since few of the authors have any intimate knowledge either of the abilities of primary pupils or the conditions of rural life; also, instead of guiding the poorly equipped teacher, the books place on him the impossible task of selecting from a mass of material that which is best suited to his special class.¹

In the attempt to learn to write, the youngest children may chant a series of letters for an hour in succession, the leader meanwhile making the corresponding letters in the sand, but the other children often do not see the connection between the symbol and the sound. The emphasis is likely to be on writing that looks well, rather than on writing to make a meaning clear.

Grammar is very much emphasized and is begun early, sometimes in the fourth year. The tendency is to teach it too mechanically.

In arithmetic, the numbers from 1 to 100 are commonly taught first and then the multiplication table, which not only extends to 16 or beyond, but also includes halves and quarters.² Addition and subtraction come at the same time as the multiplication tables. Far too much attention is given to memorization and the shouting of tables and mechanical drill, and too little to measurement.³ Much valuable time is often wasted in the daily repetition of a lifeless routine, and by the teachers themselves correcting all the work.

The educational departments have often tried to encourage handwork, like clay modelling and rope making,

¹ The city boy and village boy are given the same books and work the same sums. "We frequently proceed from the unknown to the unknown, and a boy's memory is the only faculty which is cultivated." (*Education in Bombay, 1921*, p. 16.)

² Children in the second year of the Bombay schools are required to know multiplication tables up to 30 times 10.

³ Accuracy in measurement work suffers from the utter confusion in the measures of quantity, which may vary with the locality, the person, and the thing measured.

but these efforts have not generally succeeded very well, because the children have little interest or respect for work of this kind, as it is now presented, and it is generally even worse taught than the literary subjects.¹ On the whole, school gardens in the villages have not proved of great benefit.²

In formulating better courses that will result in particular attainments, these questions may well be kept in mind: Will the child at the end of the primary school be able to speak his vernacular clearly and fluently? Will he be able to read and write a letter of ordinary difficulty, and to read easy stories, songs and poems? Will he be capable of using arithmetical processes that the villager finds most necessary? Will he have developed resourcefulness in adapting means to ends, and habits of accuracy, industry, and foresight? Toward making the answers affirmative, the following next steps are suggested:

1. Supplying the children with *frequent chances to express themselves in speech*. They should be encouraged to tell stories and express ideas connectedly to their hearers, instead of giving short, choppy answers that convey a minimum of thought. Some periods could be devoted to stories told by the children.

2. Provision of *school books written in simple form*

¹ *Education in India, 1912-17*, I, p. 117. Education in India has been considered mostly as the preparation for persons destined to enter the dignified professions, and as something obviating the necessity for doing manual labour. The consequences are twofold: those people who do not hope to enter a profession do not themselves want education, and are not expected by others to have more than narrowly vocational training that will make them better farm "hands"; on the other hand, so-called "educated" persons on their way to professional careers despise all manual or physical effort as something beneath them.

² Many difficulties have blocked the way to successful school gardens, such as lack of water, of good soil or of space, trouble in keeping out animals when there are no fences, the hard work of tending the garden the whole year, and the unwillingness of the teacher to do his share in manual work. *Education in Bombay, 1920*, p. 15, says: "In spite of the difficulties which exist in most places in the way of keeping school gardens, many schools are reported to have creditable gardens."

instead of in a stilted, highly literary style. The primer should contain matter on familiar topics, good literature, and telling illustrations. The later books may well give broader contacts with the lives of people in other parts of India and the world. Reading is to be regarded as a process of receiving ideas, not of making sounds.

3. *The teaching of children to read useful material*, especially personal letters, village leases, records, and contracts, leaflets about better agriculture and the improvement of the home, stories that give a broader outlook, and monthly journals. (For the Christians, the Bible and the hymn book would be stressed.) The children fare better by growing accustomed to read simple material like this that they can use at the time and later, rather than spending the brief school years over extremely difficult books. The desire to read should be present at the start and constantly grow stronger. The story method is very useful at the beginning.

4. *The teaching of children to write personal and ordinary business letters and to use business forms.* Intelligibility is the first requisite; correctness, the second; while rapidity will also be imparted, if time allows. Writing is to be used as a vehicle of thought, not as a merely mechanical process.¹ The use of writing and reading in the course of children's ordinary activities and in many connections, will be made habitual to them.

5. *Limitation of the drill in spelling to those words that are easily mis-spelled and that the village commonly uses in writing.* There is no need to include all the words that he uses in speech. More vital methods of teaching spelling are to be used.²

6. *Emphasis on correctness and facility of speech and also on handwork, in the case of children who, after repeated opportunities, show clearly to the satisfaction of the*

¹ "Positive, not negative, methods are necessary; the pupil must be trying to express the substance of his thought, not merely to avoid mistakes in form." (*Teaching of English in England*, p. 75.)

² "Wider and more attentive reading and, perhaps, even such indirect ways as spelling games, may often be more really effective than specific lessons." (*Ibid.*, p. 79.)

teacher and the supervisor that they cannot learn to read and write.¹

7. *Teaching only the amount and kind of concrete arithmetic that is being or will be used by the children* in their daily lives, such as the simple numerical process connected with buying, selling, making change, figuring interest, keeping simple accounts, and the other transactions common to the village. The computations should be useful and the problems genuine.² Less stress than is usual at present should be laid on the constant, mechanical repetition of the same combinations, and also on difficult feats of mental arithmetic, which only a few of the children can do; complex work can be better done on slates.³

8. *The importing of ideas and skill in an industrial arts course* that will lead to an intelligent understanding of cottage industries,⁴ and agriculture, and better ways of working, rather than the giving of intensive vocational training in the strictest sense.⁵ Since many of the village children are already working for their parents, industrial arts should stress the broadening and aesthetic phases, rather than hard exercise of the muscles. Commercial aims are to be subordinated to the educational.

9. *The maintenance of school gardens*, where they are possible, in order to show the pleasure and dignity of

¹ Such children are more likely than the average to forget how to read and write, an ability that has taken them much labour to acquire.

² See E. L. Thorndike, *The New Methods in Arithmetic*.

³ However, more mental arithmetic is needed in the Indian villages than in England or America or even in the Indian cities—places where writing materials are more abundant.

⁴ Some of the sorts of handwork that can be used for educative purposes are: making baskets, mats, coir ropes; making articles of cocoanut, palmyra or aloe fibres, of clay or cardboard; sewing leaf platters; weavings; and making webbing for *charpoys*, or beds.

In the Philippines, 91 per cent. of all the children in school are doing some form of industrial work every day in the school year.

⁵ The reasons that intensive vocational work is not recommended are: primary children are too young and physically undeveloped for the labour that would be involved in such work; time is too short in the village school to do such work adequately; many of the agricultural and industrial methods used in the villages can be better taught outside of school, where there is more responsibility and direct contact with actual processes than in the school.

manual labour and to furnish material for close observation of nature.¹

10. *The use of drawing*, in connection with the observation of the environment, with designing articles for work in industrial arts, and with the expression of ideas of beauty.

11. *The encouragement of thrift, foresight and habits of co-operation*,² and instruction in the meaning of the village map and of land records, in close connection with other school activities. These means will help the children later to prevent injustice being done to them by unscrupulous men.

D. THE CURRICULUM AS A WHOLE

The following are the primary subjects listed in the *Report on the Progress of Education in India, 1911-17*, as being required or strongly recommended in four areas of India, namely, Madras, Bombay, United Provinces, and the western part of Bengal; in all four areas—reading the vernacular, writing the vernacular, and arithmetic. Required in three of the areas—drawing and simple geography. Required in two areas—physical exercises and drill, nature study or observation, indigenous accounts.

¹ School gardens in the Allahabad district have been successfully used as agencies for introducing improved varieties and crops.

² Sir Henry Sharp wrote about the villager as follows: "Generations of oppression and lawlessness have rendered him callous and improvident. . . . Now British rule has established a condition of life in which the caprice of fortune is reduced to a minimum, in which ruin awaits the improvident, and existence, in order to be blessed, must be guided by self-denial, thrift and prudence. The hand of justice has given a great opportunity to the money-lender." (*Rural Schools in the Central Provinces*, p. 134.)

As *Indian Educational Policy in 1904* points out (p. 20), the villager needs protection in his business transactions with the landlords to whom he pays rent, and the grain dealers to whom he disposes of his crops.

In one school in South India, not only is instruction given to the pupils in the management of co-operative credit societies, but the students themselves manage a co-operative store, and a bank that receives deposits. (G. Slater, *Some South Indian Villages*, p. 42.)

Required in only one—kindergarten and story-telling (first three years), singing, modelling, poetry, history, object lessons, elementary science, hygiene, reading of leases and accountant's papers, letter-writing, and knowledge necessary to farmers.

At present, so far as the educational codes are concerned, a certain amount of leeway in the curriculum is very often allowed to the headmasters of schools and to teachers. However, the force of custom and the influence of the inspecting officers, especially those of lower grade, are thrown into the scales to minimize variation from the established type.

Though no clear distinction is laid down between the curricula for rural and urban schools, actually fewer subjects are taught in the villages than in the towns. The material now taught in the villages is largely separated from rural life, and does little to start the children making any improvement in the economic, physical, and social conditions under which they live. Another grave trouble with the present curricula is their rigidly logical organization into watertight subjects.

For the improvement of the present courses, the following suggestions are offered:

1. *Send out many stimulating ideas regarding possible courses* from the educational departments, but let these be considered as suggestive, except in the case of a few essentials. Progressive institutions should be allowed greater freedom than at present in adopting or arranging the curriculum to meet special needs.

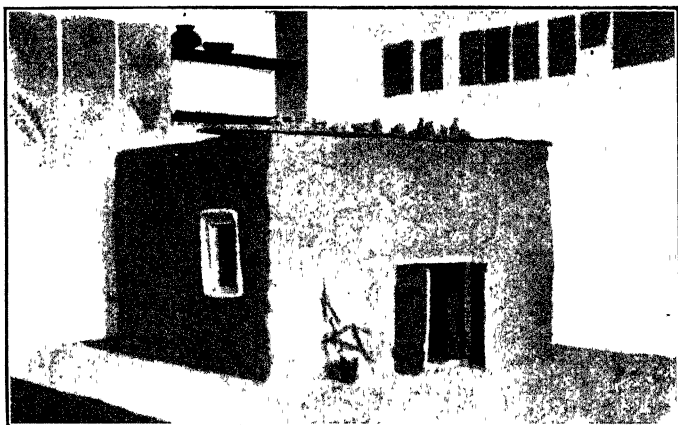
2. *Promote intensive investigations or experiments* regarding: (a) adaptation of subject matter to Indian children at different ages; (b) minimum essentials; (c) the organization of school work around vital activities or projects in which the children have a whole-hearted interest and for which they will get aid and information from various branches of knowledge. On the basis of the facts obtained, the curricula can be improved without any loss of present valuable elements.

3. Adapt to local conditions the ways of *organizing and presenting subject matter* that have been found by



CHILDREN AT DRILL

Physical development is far more important than loading sickly children with undigested information.



A MUD HOUSE BUILT BY A FIRST CLASS

Such practical and interesting work as this involves much helpful information and skill, and educates children better than memorizing by rote

experiment to promote good progress on the part of Indian children.¹

4. *Link all the subject matter very closely with the life activities* of the children, since this will give meaning, value and interest to what is taught. One of the best ways of doing this is the project method, which stresses the formation of purpose on the part of the children themselves. After a purpose has been formed the steps of planning, executing and judging are to be taken by the pupils under the guidance of the teacher. There are both major projects,² which are the centre of attention for a year or a large part of it, and projects lasting for a shorter time.

5. Little can be said in detail as to the best organization of the curriculum until more research has been done, but the following tentative suggestions are offered as to *desirable elements of primary work*, without reference to their organization :

(a) *Carried on in all Classes*

Opening exercises, including : the reading aloud of stimulating material by the teacher ; lyrics, play and work songs ; imparting of vital religious ideals.

Games, exercises, and drills ; formation of good health habits.

Occasional excursions to observe or investigate nature and village life systematically.

Dramatization of stories that have been read by the pupils or told by the teacher.

¹ The results achieved in the Christian middle school at Moga, in the Punjab, and the work recorded in *Christian Education* (formerly *Methodist Education*) and the *Village Teachers' Journal*, deserve specially close study on account of the many valuable suggestions that they offer. See also Collings' very stimulating book, *An Experiment with a Project Curriculum*.

² At Moga the following major projects, to unify the work of a whole year, have been found of very great value : Class I, The Village Home (and its relationships to the village) ; Class II, The Farm (with intensive study of one product) ; Class III, The Village (and its relationships to the district) ; Class IV, The Village Shop and Post Office (and their relationships to the province).

(b) Class 1

Simple activities to give general familiarity with school subjects.

Oral expression to secure facility.

Reading of action words or sentences with which the children are orally familiar. Sentences will be read early in the course, since they are the smallest complete units of thought.

Writing of syllables, words and sentences.

Arithmetical games and work with objects, in order to teach the concept of number and the simplest operations.

Handwork to show the properties of materials and to accustom the children to handle things.

(c) Classes 2 and 3¹

Oral expression for continuity of thought and accuracy.

Oral reading: understanding and expressing the meaning clearly. Reading of letters written by other children.

Silent reading for comprehension.

Writing and spelling of sentences, names, signs, and short personal notes.

Beginning of systematic work in arithmetic; measuring objects and buildings; solving simple village problems.

Industrial arts to give a sympathetic acquaintance with the occupations of villagers and other people.

(d) Classes 4 and 5

Silent reading for comprehension, with less emphasis on speed. Reading useful pamphlets and village papers. Supplementary reading of literature and biography.

Writing of simple personal and business letters and addressing envelopes. Writing of paragraphs.

Overcoming defects in handwriting, especially illegibility.

Spelling drill on common words most easily mis-spelled.

Village arithmetic; measurement of plots of land; solving of common problems; simple accounts; figuring

¹ As to this combination of classes, see below under school management.

interest by Indian methods. Long division, alternating with thorough treatment of fractions.

Industrial arts and garden work.

Geography of the district and province, alternating in successive years with the geography of India and the world; showing the relationship of all factors to the life of the village.

E. METHODS OF INSTRUCTION

The standard method of teaching village children is to secure the monotonous repetition of obscure subject matter until it is memorized.¹ The children are trained to say multiplication tables several times too long, and may learn by heart the whole primer. Those mechanical items and pieces of drill on which the children are most tested in the inspections and examinations are unduly emphasized. The deadening effort on instruction of the system of "results grants," abandoned in India only in recent years, are still evident.

The teacher has accepted most of his ideas on the basis of authority, and expects his pupils to do likewise, without giving them satisfying explanations or illustrations.² He is more interested in following the syllabus than in developing the pupils. Scarcely any village teachers have had over nine years of schooling, and many have had far less; barely a third have had any professional training at all. But even the trained village teachers, in the absence of adequate supervision, frequently slip back into poorer methods.

Reading and writing are taught by the alphabet method without sufficient motive on the part of the pupils. This

¹ In reality, as E. L. Thorndike points out, "Practice without zeal—with equal comfort at success and failure—does not make perfect, and the nervous system grows away from the method in which it is exercised with resulting discomfort." (*Educational Psychology*, II, p. 22.)

² "The Hindu has an aversion for the concrete. . . . To aid the ear with the eye, to prove his own statements by facts, above all to connect in the boys' minds the truths imparted in school with the visible world that lies around them—these things are not dreamed of in his philosophy." (H. Sharp, *Rural Schools in the Central Provinces*, pp. 100-1.)

doubtless is one of the main reasons for the evanescence of the power to read and write after the children leave school. Millions of children have to spend two to four times as long on the primer as would be needed if they had good teaching. The non-literary subjects are taught even worse than those involving facility with letters.¹ The practice is common of trying to make all children do the same work at exactly the same rate of speed.²

The results produced by the teaching of the village schools are extremely narrow in range, although they are often not negligible. These results are tested in the following ways: (a) assigning to the pupils pages from the textbooks to read; the results of this are not always reliable, since much of the facility displayed in the performance may be due to sheer memorization; (b) special tests are given by the teacher or inspector, but these do not have the advantage of offering a basis of sound comparison with other schools, since they are not uniform either from school to school or from year to year; (c) examinations given at the end of the primary stage which are uniform for all the schools of a province. They are sometimes held at the end of the lower primary stage also. These examinations tend to dominate instruction too much.

The following suggestions are offered:

1. *Linking up of the school subjects with the natural tendencies of the children.*³ This will include: arranging the subject matter, when first presented, in the psychological rather than the logical order; making children's desirable associations and activities satisfying, and thus more permanent;⁴ emphasizing activity rather than recep-

¹ M. West, *Education*, p. 4.

² For example, the Baroda syllabus for the first grade says, "The teacher should take care that the progress of all children should be uniform." (*Curriculum of Vernacular Schools, Baroda, 1919.*)

³ Some of the native tendencies that E. L. Thorndike mentions in his *Educational Psychology* (Volume I) as being most useful for educative ends are: the tendencies to diverse forms of physical and mental activity; the tendency to handle and manipulate objects; to feel satisfied at being the cause of an occurrence; to explore objects carefully with the eyes; and to respond by many different sounds in various sequences to different external stimuli.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, pp. 123, 172-73.

tivity on the part of the learners; and giving them the satisfaction of constructing things, and of working with others and getting others' approval for good actions.

2. *Provision for the pronounced differences of one child from another* and showing more respect for the individual.

3. *Encouragement of the formation of steady purposes in educational work.* The problems considered should be vital to the children.¹ Thus they can be helped to habits of self-directed study² that will enable them to continue their education with avidity, even when they have no teacher. Well chosen projects and problems aid greatly in the development of strong purposes and fruitful interests.³

4. *The improvement of preparation and supervision* in the ways outlined in the Third Enquiry.

5. *Substitution of well staffed for single-teacher schools*, so that each teacher can concentrate on better instruction over a smaller range.

6. *Experiments by leading educators under controlled conditions with educational tests* that can be used over a whole language area, with a view to their standardization for India. Short tests, by which the teacher himself can ascertain the success of his pupils also need to be worked out. In addition, a few strong experimental schools need

¹ See Strayer and Norsworthy, *How to Teach*, p. 6.

² F. M. McMurry gives the main factors in proper study outside of schools as: "The setting up of a need or difficulty to master, the collecting of data, selecting among them, organizing them, and testing them by use." (*Cyclopedia of Education*, V, p. 440.) For a formulation of rules of study based on scientific evidence and including the best physiological and physical conditions, see G. M. Whipple, *How to Study Effectively*. See also F. M. McMurry, *How to Study and Teaching How to Study*.

³ "This project curriculum has led to a great increase in the pupils' interest in the work, because most children desire to construct things, to work out difficulties closely related to life and work, and to imitate the life and work of parents and acquaintances. This interest, together with modern methods of teaching the various school subjects, has resulted in greater accomplishment, for it is now possible for many pupils of the first grade to complete both sections of their class and all the second grade work in one school year." (W. J. McKee, "Rural Education in India," *International Review of Missions*, July, 1923, p. 353.)

to be started in India, where the methods of instruction best adapted to Indian children and conditions can be thoroughly investigated.

F. ORGANIZATION OF THE SCHOOL

A large proportion of the village schools have only one teacher for all the classes. No matter if the school session is short, it is very difficult to succeed in teaching each class separately. Even if a man and his wife are teaching a school, or two men, the work would generally gain in efficiency from being more simply organized.¹ The higher classes in the village schools are usually small and can easily be combined.

In some areas the teacher is assisted by a monitor or pupil-teacher, who often has special care of the lowest class or classes.² Where most of the work of any class is conducted by the monitor, or where the monitor is not closely supervised, the results are not good. There are also other monitors or class captains who have no teaching functions, but who assist in such things as the order and tidiness of the school-room. These pupil officers perform a useful service.

The length of the school day in the village school is commonly between two and four hours, though it may last for six hours or longer. The children are not punctual in reaching school, and are sometimes summoned home by their parents to do unimportant work. The attendance is very carelessly and sometimes dishonestly recorded. The class periods are often too long for sustaining the interest of young children.

Discipline is lax much of the time in the village school, since the boys and girls are easy to manage and the teacher

¹ British India has on the average one teacher for every twenty-three primary pupils, who commonly belong to more than two classes. The teachers of Christian mission schools usually have heavy work to do in addition to their teaching in the school.

² "Dr. Andrew Bell got his idea of the monitorial system from what he had seen in indigenous schools in India." (Keay, *Ancient Indian Education*, p. 147.)

is careless about dealing with most bad conduct, but at times the pupils are punished very severely.¹

Very often the present village school, instead of helping to combat the diseases of a village, has elements of serious danger to the health of the pupils. The buildings are likely to be crowded and insanitary. Further, the teachers are ignorant and careless about these conditions.

The following next steps are suggested:

1. *Combining of classes into groups or sections of two classes*, unless there are nearly as many teachers as classes. The lowest section would be the first class; the middle section, classes two and three; and the highest section, classes four and five. This scheme has been tried advantageously in some few of the single-teacher schools in the United States. It makes possible better work by the teacher, and, if carefully planned, does not interfere with the learning and advancement of the children. Such grouping is especially useful where the classes are small.² Where this plan is adopted, it will be necessary to alternate the subject matter from year to year in such a way that the same ground is not covered by the same pupil in two successive years. For example, home geography in grades two and three might deal specially with the home and the bazaar every other year, and in the intervening year with the facts relating to field cultivation and the neighbourhood. Or in arithmetic, fractions could be studied in both grades four and five in the even years, and long division during the odd years.

2. *Guidance for the village teacher in matters of school management*, on the part of the training school and the supervisor, especially: in preparing a workable daily programme well adapted to the particular situation; in planning and assigning really profitable seat work; and in keeping the school and its surroundings hygienic.

¹ See *Rules and Orders of the Educational Department, Bengal*, Chapter III, p. 5.

² Grades four and five were regularly combined in the village schools of the Central Provinces by Sharp. He also suggested the extension of this same grouping process to other classes. (*Rural Schools in the Central Provinces*, pp. 54, 164, 165.)

THIRD ENQUIRY:

HOW CAN VILLAGE TEACHERS BE
PREPARED AND DEVELOPED?

It is knowledge poured as a sacrifice on the altar of man which will help India in the coming days. Nations cannot live by diplomas and dead creeds ; nations live by men who use knowledge in the service of love ; men who will tell the truth and rebuke the wrong and be loyal to the law within though the heavens fall.

—T. L. VASWANI

CHAPTER VI

OPERATION OF TRAINING SCHOOLS

A. Grade and Nature of Preparation.—B. Size of Training Schools and Classes.—C. Qualifications and Salary of Staff.—D. Selection of Candidates for Admission.—E. School Life and Spirit.—F. Internal Organization.—G. External Control.—H. Finance.

A. GRADE AND NATURE OF PREPARATION

THE teacher is the key to the problem of improving and reforming village education, than which no more important problem now faces India. The great complexity and broad influence of the teacher's work make adequate preparation necessary.¹ However, only two-fifths of the primary teachers have had any training whatsoever, and less than half of these have passed even the middle school.

The teacher needs just as careful training to deal with the precious minds and spirits of children, as do doctors and nurses to deal with the bodies of their patients. The assumption that going over a certain amount of subject matter enables a person to teach it, is a dangerous fallacy, for teaching is far more than repeating a few facts or phrases. A true teacher must know the minds of his pupils and the best ways of presenting material to them, if he is to be a safe person to mould the lives of children and direct the whole course of their future development. He has to deal

¹ "The superiority in the quality of the teaching in those provinces where training was early developed and has been consistently pursued, is patent to anyone who has visited schools in different parts of India." (*Education in India, 1912-17*, I, p. 167.)

with children at a very difficult stage, when they are a puzzle to untrained adults.

The fact that many millions of India's budding citizens have their only education in the village schools, makes it imperative that they have the best equipped teachers possible in the circumstances.

Almost no village teachers are prepared in the training colleges. These institutions have graduate courses for persons who have received their bachelor's degree, and courses on the collegiate level either for matriculates or for men who have had two years of college work. The training colleges have a very strategic rôle to play in the great struggle against ignorance and superstition, for they are training people who will do much to shape and execute school policies as masters in training schools, educational inspectors and members of the staff of town colleges and secondary schools.

Unfortunately, the preparation these institutions offer does not make the most of the possibilities. They give in a formal way much useful information, but they stimulate their students too little to become progressive educational thinkers and students in contact with the recent contributions of more advanced countries.

Training schools, which are charged with the momentous task of preparing teachers for the village schools, are of different grades. Those requiring for admission the completion of the vernacular middle examination, or eight or nine years of school work in the vernacular, may be conveniently designated as higher-grade training schools.¹ The training period generally is one or two years, but in Western Bengal it lasts for three years. Men ordinarily go out from these schools to teach the vernaculars in secondary and middle schools, and to be headmasters of primary schools.

Training classes of this higher grade, such as are found in the United Provinces, form an integral part of other schools. They require eight or nine years of work in the

¹ In Bombay they are termed vernacular training colleges, and in Madras higher elementary training departments.

vernacular. These are cheaper to maintain than normal schools, and attract teachers who would not be willing to travel any considerable distance from their home for training.¹ But the outlook of the men is very narrow since many of the students have never left their own district, and the classes are too small to encourage emulation and the sharing of divergent viewpoints. These training classes are the outgrowth of the pupil-teacher system, and have inherited from that system the weakness of encouraging students to imitate their masters blindly and merely to pick up a few of the "tricks of the trade."

The preparation given in the lower-grade training schools is even less complete. In Bengal and Bihar and Orissa, they are termed *guru*-training schools; and when attached to another institution, lower-grade training classes. These lower-grade training institutions, as a rule, require for admission only five or six years of school work in the vernacular, and the work of those who go from them to primary schools is "cruelly disappointing."²

The length of the course in the training schools is one or two years. It varies according to the province, but in general the lower-grade schools offer shorter courses than those of the higher-grade, although they might seem obligated to give at least as long training. In the Punjab, one year is all that is ordinarily allowed for training; in the United Provinces, the eastern part of Bengal and Bihar, either one or two years, depending on the grade; in Bombay, either one, two, or three years. In Madras the courses on both the higher-grade and lower-grade levels last two years, and in the Central Provinces either two or three. The training classes are usually for one year, but they may rarely be as short as six months or as long as two years.

The number of students in training in 1922-23 was :

¹ In the year 1920, the number of training classes in the United Provinces rose from 265 to 505, to keep pace with the requirements of the new primary schools.

² *Education in Bengal, 1917-22*, p. 45. In the Central Provinces and Assam, this lower form of vernacular training is not found at all.

| | | TRAINING MEN | COLLEGES WOMEN | TRAINING MEN | SCHOOLS WOMEN | TOTAL |
|--------------|----|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------|------------------|--------|
| Government | .. | 892 | 46 | 15,505 | 1,750 | 18,193 |
| Local Bodies | .. | 0 | 0 | 3,076 | 40 | 3,116 |
| Aided | .. | 92 | 48 | 2,691 | 2,267 | 5,098 |
| Unaided | .. | 0 | 5 | 51 | 17 | 73 |
| Total | .. | 984 | 99 | 21,323 | 4,074 | 26,480 |

Several facts stand out from these figures: (a) Not many over a thousand students are being trained on the collegiate level, which is extremely small in view of the number of trained teachers that are needed for the secondary and other schools every year. (b) Few women are trained on the collegiate level, and not very many on the lower levels; most of the latter are in aided institutions (largely Christian.¹) (c) A large majority of the men in training schools are in provincial government institutions. The local boards stand second in the number they care for, many of these being in the higher-grade training classes of the United Provinces. The aided institutions form a noticeable proportion, while there are less than a hundred students in all unaided training institutions.

The standard, that the training institutions should, at a minimum, train enough teachers each year to take the places of those who have resigned or died during the year and to meet the demands created by the extension of education, is scarcely reached.² The number of teachers of vernacular who were sent out from training schools in 1917 for all India was only 9,411 or 1,828 less than there ought to have been to supply the annual wastage of 11,239 vernacular teachers through death and resignation.³ Even this last figure made no allowance for the large number of new teachers constantly needed for the newly estab-

¹ Protestant Christian training institutions report 2,167 men and 1,102 women students. *National Missionary Council*, January 10-16, 1923.)

² The Government of India suggested this standard to the provincial government in August, 1916, and at the same time, announced a grant of 3,000,000 rupees to encourage work in this direction. (*Education in India, 1912-17*, I, pp. 158-59.)

³ This wastage of teachers is estimated at six per cent. of the total number of vernacular primary teachers. (*Ibid.*, I, p. 159.)

lished vernacular schools.¹ The proportion that are trained to the total number of vernacular primary teachers has been rising since 1917, but in 1922 only 36·7 per cent. had even the barest training. Much of the training has been very unsatisfactory; for example, "training, as interpreted in relation to primary education in Bengal, is merely a despairing attempt to supply by special means some part of what is wanting in the teachers' general equipment."²

Although it is ideally desirable that every regular village teacher be fully prepared for the teaching he is going to do, as next steps the following measures are suggested:

1. *A requirement that candidates for training have passed the vernacular middle examination or its equivalent*,³ except in those cases where, on account of the extreme deficiency of the supply of trained teachers, it may

¹ The number of primary schools has risen from 123,578 in 1912 to 162,015 in 1923. Biss wrote in 1921 that five times as many teachers were required from the higher-grade training schools in Bengal as they were turning out.

² *Education in Bengal, 1917-22*, p. 45. The proportion of teachers who are trained depends largely on the management, as is shown by the 1922 figures for British India:

| | NUMBER | | PER CENT. TRAINED |
|---------------|---------------|----|-------------------|
| Government .. | 2,043 | .. | 56·6 |
| Local Body .. | 81,424 | .. | 54·9 |
| Aided .. | 85,918 | .. | 24·1 |
| Unaided .. | 11,901 | .. | 9·4 |
| | <hr/> 181,286 | | <hr/> 36·7 |

³ *Indian Educational Policy, 1913*, p. 11, recommends that teachers should have passed the vernacular middle examination.

The Director of Public Instruction in Bengal says, regarding the training schools in that province requiring only primary qualifications: "The existing guru-training school system stands condemned alike in its workings and results; and I am convinced that to go forward with the expansion of such a system, or with its perpetuation on anything but a radically altered basis, is to apply our new Imperial revenues to the endowment and expansion of incompetence." (Biss, *Primary Education in Bengal, 1921*, Appendix, p. xi.)

One reason for the success of the training classes in the United Provinces, at a time when training classes were being abandoned in other provinces, is undoubtedly the fact that the passing of the middle-vernacular examination was required for admission in the United Provinces, but not elsewhere.

be temporarily expedient to train village teachers in lower-grade training schools open to men with poorer qualifications.¹ As the number of trained teachers increases, the requirements should be steadily raised.

2. *Two years' training for prospective village teachers* in both higher-grade and lower-grade training schools,² unless the supply of trained teachers is very low. Two years, rather than one year, are suggested because: the men have great lacks to fill up in subject matter and general background, since they have had only eight or nine years of schooling; it takes them longer than better qualified men to get an intelligent understanding of superior methods of teaching; one year is too short for the desirable amount of supervised practice teaching and the study of subject matter, for men who are going to be thrown on their own resources for a large part of the time;³ if a senior class stays on from the previous year, a continuous tradition of school life is possible;⁴ and finally, in the second year, students in training generally take better hold of their work. Wherever two years' work is not at all feasible, the teachers may be prepared for one year, and within about five years given a postponed year of training.⁵ Whether the training course lasts for two years or one year, the new teachers need the

¹ If this were done, the training course would have to be even further simplified than in the suggestions made in the following chapter, more emphasis being placed on practical work and less time given to general educational principles and to courses like that in Indian life and history.

² *Education in India, 1912-17*, I, p. 160. In the eastern part of Bengal, the complaint is made that even the two-year training course was too short. (*Calcutta University Commission Report*, III, p. 11.)

³ By having the practical and theoretical work at the same time, as is possible with a two-year training course, the theoretical work can be more readily grasped and thoroughly understood.

⁴ The conference, summoned in 1910 by the London County Council, to consider the question of the training of elementary teachers, reported: "Actual experience proves that a two-year course is not only twice as good as a one-year course in the way of character building, but many times as good. The increased gain cannot be measured by the mere number of months."

⁵ See *Village Education in India*, p. 92.

benefit of the professional guidance and supervision outlined in Chapter VIII.

3. *Intensive emphasis on preparation for the art of teaching*, rather than confining the work to academic courses in which facts are learned. Training classes can be attached to institutions of general education, provided that some one is concentrating his efforts on the training class, and provided that it has a separate room and programme. If it is only a weak appendix to a school of diverse aims, the welfare of India's children is being sacrificed.

B. SIZE OF TRAINING SCHOOLS AND CLASSES

The training schools of India are distinctly small in size, as will be seen from the following figures for the average enrolment of all training institutions below collegiate grade in 1923:

| NUMBER OF INSTITUTIONS FOR MEN | | | | AVERAGE ENROLMENT |
|-------------------------------------|----|----|-----|----------------------|
| Government .. | .. | .. | 371 | 41.8 |
| Local Body .. | .. | .. | 339 | 9.1 |
| Aided .. | .. | .. | 68 | 39.6 |
| Unaided .. | .. | .. | 4 | 12.8 |
| All institutions .. | | | 782 | 27.3 |
| NUMBER OF INSTITUTIONS FOR WOMEN | | | | AVERAGE ENROLMENT |
| Government .. | .. | .. | 50 | 35.0 |
| Local Body .. | .. | .. | 7 | 5.7 |
| Aided .. | .. | .. | 83 | 27.3 |
| Unaided .. | .. | .. | 2 | 8.5 |
| All institutions .. | | | 142 | 28.7 |

There are thus nearly a thousand institutions below the collegiate level. The figures for the average enrolment of men and women are extremely low compared with other countries,¹ especially in the case of the training classes that are managed by district and municipal boards.

¹ The average number of normal course students in the 371 normal schools and teachers' colleges reporting to the United States Bureau of Education in 1920 was 448. Each institution had average annual receipts of 90,738 dollars. (*Bulletin, 1922, No. 8, p. 3.*)

Since the institutions are small, and because there are so many of them, only meagre resources are available for their staffing and development.

The provinces of British India may be divided into two distinct groups, with regard to the size of training schools and classes for men.¹

| | AVERAGE | | AVERAGE |
|------------------------|---------|--------------------|---------|
| United Provinces . . . | 9 | Assam | 44 |
| Bihar .. . | 21 | Madras .. . | 57 |
| Bengal.. .. | 23 | Punjab .. . | 82 |
| | | Bombay. . . | 91 |
| | | Central Provinces | 118 |
| Group average .. . | 13.5 | Group average .. . | 65.9 |

In the provinces where institutions are small the classes are also small, even though there is usually only one class or two classes.² In other provinces the classes are rarely too large for the lecture work that is commonly carried on, but may be too large for general discussions in which all are to take part.

It is desirable to have: (a) training institutions large enough to spread the cost of well qualified, well paid staffs and of good buildings and equipment over many students; and (b) classes large enough so that the efforts of the staff are efficiently utilized, but small enough to allow for good class periods and general discussions, in which all can participate, and small enough so that ample teaching practice can be arranged in the model and other schools.

The following immediate measures are suggested:

1. *Determination of the size of training institutions* according to the possibility of furnishing good facilities for practice teaching, and of having about thirty students in each class. This is an economical number, but with more than this stimulating general discussions and individual attention become very difficult.³

¹ *Education in India, 1917-22*, II, p. 133.

² Since almost all the courses are required, the classes are seldom reduced in size through the presence of electives.

³ The number of classes of pupils that need to be provided for practical work in teaching could be lessened by assigning the men to different class-rooms in pairs, with one man teaching and the other taking notes of what the class and the teacher are doing; for such

2. *Consolidation of training institutions* in those provinces where they are very small, with better qualified staffs and larger and more suitable buildings and equipment.

3. *Increased accommodation for the training of teachers*, to keep step with the growth of village education, by increasing the size of existing institutions or by starting new ones, where necessary, at carefully chosen points.

C. QUALIFICATIONS AND SALARY OF THE STAFF

The staffs of the training schools form one of the most crucial points in the whole educational system, for the students in training are at a very susceptible period, during which they are affected by the personal influence of every teacher for good or ill. The qualities the students acquire will be inevitably passed on to the masses of children in the primary school. "It has been recognized," says the Director of Public Instruction for Bengal, "that in staffing these training schools we must find the best and not a make-shift staff."¹

The qualifications now demanded and the salaries paid are not very unsatisfactory in some places; for example, in the normal schools of the United Provinces and in the training schools of Madras. A typical United Provinces training school staff was composed (1917) as follows:²

| | | QUALIFICATIONS | MONTHLY SALARY (RUPEES) |
|-------------------------------|----|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| Headmaster | .. | Graduate trained .. | .. 175 |
| 1st assistant | .. | Intermediate trained .. | .. 85 |
| 2nd assistant | .. | Matriculate trained .. | .. 55 |
| Teacher of Urdu | .. | Trained at normal school | .. 40 |
| Teacher of Hindi | .. | Trained at normal school | .. 40 |
| Teacher of drawing | .. | Trained at art school .. | .. 40 |
| Teacher of physical exercises | .. | Trained at normal school | .. 20 |
| | | | <hr/> 455 |

notes he would be held responsible. The two men could exchange places every two weeks. At any one time there would be from eight to ten pairs of students in as many different classes, except in the case of the responsible village school teaching.

¹ Quoted by Biss, *Primary Education in Bengal*, Appendix, p. xli.

² Since 1917 there have been decided increases.

In Madras, newly appointed members of the staffs of lower elementary training schools are required to have the following minimum academic and professional qualifications (1920):

| | | |
|----------------|----|---|
| Headmaster | .. | Graduate, one year's training. |
| Headmistress | .. | (Women's schools) matriculation, two years' training. |
| 1st assistant | .. | Same as preceding. |
| 2nd assistant | .. | (Man) same. |
| 2nd assistant | .. | (Woman) eight years of school work, two years' training. |
| Drawing master | | Passed government intermediate technical examination in drawing and special practical test. |

These headmasters had fair salaries (1917), ranging from 75 to 200 rupees, but the assistants received only 30 to 50 rupees. In Bombay there are similar inequalities between the salaries of the principals of the vernacular training colleges (on the secondary level,) which are from 400 to 500 rupees, and those of the headmasters of the district training schools, where the salaries are about 40 rupees.

In the small training classes of the United Provinces the qualifications for the staffs are far lower than in the normal schools of the same area, although both classes of institution require that the entering candidates have passed the vernacular middle examinations. The headmasters of these classes must have passed the middle course, had normal school training, and at least three years of service. The minimum pay is 20 rupees, and the promotions are made as in the middle school service. The two assistants have been prepared in training classes, and receive the pay of junior assistant masters in the middle schools.

The guru-training schools of Bengal show a striking recent improvement. Before 1923, the staff of these schools was very poorly paid, although the buildings cost between thirteen and fifteen thousand rupees. W. W. Hornell, the Director of Public Instruction, wrote of "the incompetence of the guru-instructor in charge of the training school—this man receives 18 rupees a month as salary, and his qualifications cover the middle ver-

nacular course with a period of instruction in a vernacular training school. It is unnecessary to state that such a man cannot be, in the nature of things, an instructor of intending or existing teachers. He is little, if at all, better educated than his students, and he has no idea of what class teaching or school organization means." But since 1923 the government has been improving the salary of the staff and the conditions in these schools. The figures quoted below show the situation before 1923, and in the improved type of school in 1924.

| | | RUPEES PER MENSEM | |
|----------------|-------|-------------------|-----------|
| | | BEFORE 1923 | IN 1924 |
| Head teacher | | 18 | 75 to 150 |
| Second teacher | | 10 | 35 to 90 |
| Third teacher | | 8 | 35 to 90 |

In all provinces, it is exceedingly difficult to secure well qualified persons for training staffs, because India has so few such, and since those that there are much prefer positions in academic institutions, where the strain is less and the prestige higher. Another trouble is that the training school staffs are rarely in close touch with the village conditions under which the students will work as teachers.

The following can be set up as desirable goals: (a) Personal qualifications of leadership and persistence in striving for ideals.¹ (b) Live interest in village school problems and in the progress of their students. (c) Professional training with reference to the special work that is to be taught. (d) Approved teaching experience; the ability to teach being more important than formal scholarship standards. (e) Graduation from a college for all members of the staff. (f) Good salaries in order to draw the right type of men to the training institutions, to keep them satisfied with their work, and to free them from

¹ "Men and women must be found to lead these training institutions who can do more than follow a government code, who thoroughly comprehend the new type of schools that is to be evolved, and who will steadfastly pursue that goal in a creative and co-operative way." (*Village Education in India*, p. 83.)

intense financial anxiety. The amount should be such as to form not merely a "living wage," but a "saving wage."¹

The following suggestions are made:

1. *To increase considerably the qualifications required and the salaries offered.*² The requirements should of course be distinctly higher than those of the students. Mackenzie suggested (1917) that the qualification and monthly salaries of the normal school staffs in the United Provinces be raised:

| To | RUPEES PER MONTH | FROM | RUPEES PER MONTH |
|--|------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| Headmaster, trained graduate | .. 200 | Trained graduate | .. 175 |
| 1st assistant, trained graduate | .. 150 | Trained intermediate | 85 |
| 2nd assistant, trained graduate | .. 120 | Trained matriculate.. | 55 |
| 3rd assistant, trained graduate | .. 100 | ... | ³ |
| 4th assistant, trained graduate | .. 80 | ... | ³ |
| Teacher of Urdu, normal school trained | .. 40 | Same | .. 40 |
| Teacher of Hindi, normal school trained | .. 40 | Same | .. 40 |
| Teacher of drawing, art school trained | .. 40 | Same | .. 40 |
| Teacher of physical education, normal school trained | .. 30 | Same | .. 20 |

2. *To facilitate the interchange of posts in training institutions with supervisory and inspectional posts,*

¹ In the United Provinces it is rightly said: "No money is put to better use than what is spent in order to staff normal schools with teachers of the right stamp; their influence permeates not only to middle schools, but also through the headmasters of training classes (who are trained in normal schools) to all the primary schools of the province."

² W. W. Hornell proposed (1915) that guru-training schools be enlarged to teach 40 instead of 16 students and that the monthly salaries be raised as follows: head teacher from 18 to 126 rupees, the latter being the average pay of the subordinate educational service; the two vernacular teachers from 10 and 8 rupees to 30 rupees each.

³ These are new posts proposed by Mackenzie so as to allow more supervision, the number of students in training staying at the same figure, 100.

so as to keep the training close to the hard actualities of village work.¹ In addition, visits by the training school teachers to their former students, and conferences at the training institutions for men in charge of village work, are highly desirable.

3. To have the staff help to *supply the deficiency of good books on education* in the languages of India by making translations and reports of studies.

4. To make one or more careful *investigations regarding training school staffs*, including their qualifications, salary, organization, and success in turning out good teachers.

D. SELECTION OF CANDIDATES FOR ADMISSION

The work of teaching the village school is so vital to India's welfare and so difficult that men of strong character, eagerness to serve, and other good qualifications are demanded, instead of the mediocre or inferior grade of men that are now commonly found.² The number of applicants for training is not sufficient in most provinces, while many of those who do apply are poorly qualified, because others are kept away by the present wretched conditions of service in the villages.³

The force of social restrictions and difficulties keeps down the number of applicants. The most striking instance

¹ See Biss, *Primary Education in Bengal, 1921*, p. 46.

² "Persons with the missionary spirit, embodying in some noticeable degree in their life self-denial and benevolence as well as special knowledge, should be teachers." (Recommendation 2 of the *National Education Committee, February-March, 1923*, p. 40.)

It holds true in India, as well as in the United States, that: "Rural school teaching actually demands a higher grade of teaching efficiency than any other branch of public school service: the problems of successful organization and instruction are more varied and more difficult. The range of subject matter in which the teacher should be letter perfect is wider; supervision is less frequent and usually less competent; and the responsibilities of the teacher for community leadership are much heavier." (*The Professional Preparation of Teachers for American Public Schools*, p. 129.)

³ Two of the three principal defects of the system of Indian education, according to *India in 1920* (p. 164), are: the paucity of properly trained teachers, and the small incentive for men of the right sort to enter the teaching profession.

of this is the extremely small proportion of women applying for training, except among the Indian Christians. Almost no one applies from the aboriginal tribes. It is largely on account of social reasons that the number of those applying for, and taking, training varies very widely according to the racial or religious affiliation.¹

The number of possible applicants is cut down by the fact that many of the teachers already in service who should be trained do not desire to go to the inconvenience of attending the training school, especially if they are married.² To counteract this tendency stipends are paid to students in preparation. Teachers and students undergoing training ordinarily receive either the pay of their posts or a stipend. These are given either by the government

¹ The number of students in training supplied by the main races or religions is shown for 1923 :

| | MEN STUDENTS | |
|------------------------------|------------------|--------------|
| | COLLEGIATE LEVEL | LOWER LEVELS |
| European and Anglo-Indian .. | 25 | 1 |
| Indian Christian .. | 21 | 2,131 |
| Higher Caste Hindus .. | 717 | 12,975 |
| Depressed Classes .. | 10 | 761 |
| Moslems .. | 182 | 4,001 |
| All others .. | 29 | 1,454 |
| | <hr/> 984 | <hr/> 21,323 |

| | WOMEN STUDENTS | |
|------------------------------|------------------|--------------|
| | COLLEGIATE LEVEL | LOWER LEVELS |
| European and Anglo-Indian .. | 62 | 229 |
| Indian Christian .. | 21 | 1,873 |
| Higher Caste Hindus .. | 16 | 1,298 |
| Depressed Classes .. | 0 | 47 |
| Moslems .. | 0 | 277 |
| All others .. | 0 | 350 |
| | <hr/> 99 | <hr/> 4,074 |

² For example, *Training of Teachers, 1918* (p. 35), states that there were 24,000 teachers in boys' vernacular schools in the United Provinces in 1917, of which 11,000 were trained and 13,000 were untrained. Of these untrained men, the report estimates that there were 4,400 teachers too old to train or unwilling to forsake private interests for a year ; and 2,600 who were in private unaided schools and had such inferior qualifications that they could not be admitted to training institutions ; leaving only 6,000 men who are said to be "trainable."

or by the employer.¹ The stipends are meant to be enough to support the students (and their families, if they are married), but are not invariably so. The stipends for normal school students in 1917 generally ranged from 5 to 10 rupees a month. Since then they have shown a distinct upward tendency, so that in the advanced province of Bombay the stipend for men students since 1920 has been 15 rupees.²

In the selection of applicants academic training is naturally given great weight. In recent years the general qualifications of candidates have improved, and training institutions have grown more popular, so that now the training schools can generally count on securing students who have undergone eight years of school work and have passed the vernacular middle examination, but the training classes cannot demand so much.³

Experience in teaching is also favourably considered. In most parts of India men who have already taught for two or three years are preferred to those who have had no such experience, on the ground that such men have acquired confidence in taking a class and appreciate the difficulties of teaching. Although teaching experience is not laid down as an essential requisite for all who enter training institutions, a good share of the men in training have had some experience.

Requirements as to health are also made in most provinces, at least on paper. The Madras regulations, for example, demand the production of a certificate of a

¹ *Education in India, 1912-17*, I, p. 160.

² More characteristic examples of the amounts (in rupees) of stipends paid are—Madras (1920): lower grade training schools, 8·5; higher grade, 10·5. Bengal: Calcutta Normal School, 7; other normal schools, 6; lower-grade guru-training schools, 10 (more is given than in the higher institutions because the men are older and nearly always married).

³ For the normal schools in the United Provinces the candidate must not only have passed the middle course, but must have passed in both of the vernaculars used in the United Provinces schools and also a written examination in languages and arithmetic that is given by the deputy inspector. In the same province, men who have passed the course in the training classes are admitted to the normal schools, and about 50 out of 1,800 training class students do this annually.

medical authority that the candidate is physically fit to perform efficiently the duties of a teacher.

Age limits are laid down. In Madras persons of fourteen can be admitted to training schools, but in Bombay and the United Provinces the lower limit is sixteen years. The upper limit is usually twenty-five years, the maximum being thirty, although teachers with experience in recognized schools are admitted in Madras up to the age of thirty-five. If there are selections to be made, the preference is likely to be granted to persons between twenty and twenty-five.

The selection of candidates is generally made by the inspectional staff or the educational department, the exact standards differing with the province.

The following are desirable ends in making a good selection: (a) A supply of candidates for training who have at least the following qualifications.—determination to develop children's personalities and to improve the conditions of village life; mental alertness and the ability to think straight and sensibly; physical fitness for exhausting work, and ability to teach health by example. (b) A large number of applicants for training, so that careful selection can be made of the best teaching material; in securing these applicants, two of the most important factors are the prospects for teaching in the villages and the stipends paid to students in training. (c) The early rejection of those who are very unlikely to become good teachers.

The following immediate steps are suggested:

1. Make the *completion of the vernacular middle course* a condition for entering all training institutions, except where so few teachers would be obtained in this way as to render special treatment a temporary necessity.

2. *Place more emphasis on personal qualifications*, such as trustworthiness, initiative, and readiness to co-operate, without lowering the present academic requirements. Estimates of the candidates by reliable people will often be a help. Some maximum age provisions should be followed so as to discourage the coming of men whose ways are already so firmly fixed as to preclude change.

3. *Reject early those who are palpably unfit for teaching*, by such means as an examination before training,

either for all the training institutions of an area or the individual training school, or else as soon as possible during the first year of the course. Experiments may well be made with intelligence tests.

4. *Connect training schools with rural community schools* where these are found, as the alumni of such schools are already interested in village life and education.

E. SCHOOL LIFE AND SPIRIT

Ordinarily there are now very few joint activities except their class work in which the students engage. The students are likely to be at their books for so many hours each day, that they have little time to give to extra-curricular activities. Even when they have time that could be so used they labour under the impression that they have none. Nor are the rooms and equipment suitable for encouraging common life often present or adequate. There is little continuity of school tradition from one year to another, especially if the course lasts only one year and no seniors hold over from the preceding year.

The members of the staff commonly spend little time with their students, except in classes and occasional conferences. Their relations to the young men are likely to be stilted and unnatural. Moreover, the staff is often too busy with other matters to give to supervision and guidance of extra-curricular activities the time that they need and deserve. Many of the hostels suffer on account of inadequate care. Of the training-school students, 68.6 per cent. live in approved hostels.¹ Those of different castes and religions have to eat separately. The food is often poorly balanced and lacking in variety.

The life and thought of the training school is likely to be isolated from the life of the district or the country ; the students do not have much appreciation of other phases of

¹ J. N. Fraser places the need of hostel buildings before the need of any other kind of building, even for class-rooms, since those of a neighbouring school can serve for this purpose. In the hostels character can be more profoundly influenced than in any other part of the school.

village work than teaching, nor do they have compelling motives of service.

It is desirable to direct effort toward securing: character and the formation of warm friendships; *esprit de corps* and loyalty to the ideals of the school; enthusiasm for service; reliability in bearing responsibility.

These next steps are suggested:

1. *Allocate the management of as many activities as possible to the students themselves.*¹ Increasing powers of self-government can also be given.² This has the advantage of giving the students an amount of responsibility which is wholesome for them, and also of relieving the staff of some detailed work, although careful responsible supervision of all extra-curricular and hostel activities is urgently needed. In other activities the students could merely assist the staff. Each student may well have his special share or function in the life of the school or hostel, such as being proctor or helping in the buying, preparation, and serving of food.

2. *Provide activities in which the staff and students can engage jointly,*³ including a simple school publication to which all can contribute;⁴ and social service work for the benefit of the people of villages where the students often go. In order to facilitate these and similar contacts with rural life

¹ For example, a college union was started in 1916 in the Baroda Training College, which had as its activities the management of the reading room, conducting a debating society, indoor and outdoor games, and a social service league.

² In Rabindranath Tagore's school at Bolpur, where there is a very fine spirit of comradeship among all the teachers and scholars, "to a very large extent the boys make their own rules, elect their own judges, and all minor offences are handled by the boys' court. . . . If any boy is not satisfied he may appeal—something rarely done." (D. J. Fleming, *Schools with a Message in India*, p. 163.) Self-government has also proved successful in the training school at Moga.

³ "The growth of a strong corporate life through friendly and informal intercourse between teachers and students, each equally loyal to the good name of the college, would do much to banish the present dreary monotony of the students' lives." (*Calcutta University Commission Report*, IV, p. 459.)

⁴ One of the normal schools in Assam publishes a magazine which "continues to be successful, and by the interest of its literary articles to attract outside subscribers." (*Public Instruction in Assam, 1919-20*, p. 13.)



H R Feiger

TRAINING IN AGRICULTURE

The teachers under training at Moga help educate and support themselves by fertilizing the fields with manure.



H R Feiger

MAKING ROPES AND BEDS

The same young men also extract fibre, twist rope and make serviceable beds. These activities can later be taught to children.

and schools, the institutions preparing village teachers need to be readily accessible to the villages. Where feasible, connect the training schools with such social welfare centres as Biss suggests should be located at central points in each district, containing headquarters for agents of several of the government departments directly affecting village welfare.¹

3. *Arrange contests of various kinds among groups of students*, including story-telling, singing, and athletic contests, in which all are expected to compete. Prizes may well be given for the class or group standing highest. A good-sized playground with facilities for various games needs to be secured, unless public grounds are available for the purpose.²

4. *Provide occasions and places for teachers and students to meet informally*. A common room, with games and periodicals in which the students are interested, is highly desirable. In England such rooms have been found of great value for the development of sociability and school life.

5. Arrange, wherever possible, for *the staff as well as the students to reside in buildings near together belonging to the school*.

F. INTERNAL ORGANIZATION

The responsible management of the institution may rest with a headmaster, a principal, a committee of management, or a "manager." Whoever holds this function also handles the correspondence with the provincial educational authorities. A headmaster is immediately in charge of the instruction in the training school. This work is done by a principal when the grade of the institution is high. The headmaster and staff are frequently not well qualified to handle efficiently the administrative work expected of them.³

Occasional staff meetings are held on general educational topics, but they are not the occasion for as much construc-

¹ Biss, *Primary Education in Bengal, 1921*, p. 38.

² See also the discussion below in Chapter VII, C, on Games and Physical Education.

³ Refer to the discussion on this subject earlier in this chapter.

tive planning as they might well be. There is often lack of co-ordination between the various activities of the training school, and more particularly between the practical and theoretical work.

The following goals are considered desirable: the reaching of the objectives stated above for curriculum, instruction, and school life; good co-ordination of every activity of the training school, so that each will contribute its full share toward the common goal; progressive work through the co-operation of many keen minds; an example to the students of efficient and well adapted methods of organization and administration. These suggestions are made :

1. *Give a larger share of responsibility to the staff* where they are able to bear it, both in making practical plans and in carrying them out. This will encourage the qualities of initiative and independence of judgment, and help to give momentum to the progress of the school. The staff meeting may well be encouraged to present to the controlling authorities carefully considered suggestions about the running of the training school.

2. *Place the head of the model school on the staff of the training school.* He would also be closely connected with the practice teaching done by the students in the neighbouring village schools. This will make it possible to co-ordinate the practical teaching work of the students with their subject matter and theoretical courses.

3. *Organize extension work under a member of the staff,* who would direct all the work of the training school in keeping its alumni growing professionally, as suggested in Chapter VIII, and also the service of the school to the surrounding villages. He might arrange short courses for village boys, as is done with good results in Dr. Tagore's rural reconstruction work at Bolpur.¹

G. EXTERNAL CONTROL

All recognized training institutions are directly or indirectly under the provincial departments of public

¹ They are taught hygiene, first-aid, poultry-keeping and weaving.

instruction, which set the standards, lay down many strict rules, and also furnish part of the support. The educational portfolios in the provinces are now held by Indians, who are chosen from, and answerable to, the popular majority in the legislative council. The members of the inspecting force that do much of the inspecting of the training schools for the provincial departments have often too small a vision of what training schools should do, and the way in which they can do it.

It is clearly desirable to fulfil the responsibility to the public by making sure of well trained teachers; and to insure sound leadership and co-operation in the control of training institutions, rather than bureaucratic domination. Accordingly, it is suggested :

1. Allow *greater freedom to progressive institutions* in adapting educational codes to their specific needs, and in making experiments, as is done in Great Britain.¹

2. *Publish careful descriptions of the best educational experiments*, using for this purpose educational magazines or the appendices to reports on education. Moreover, the general public needs to be shown clearly the importance of training institutions, by such means as articles in the daily papers, demonstrations, and exhibits.

3. *Provide expert help for training institutions*, by deputing specialists with experience in normal school work to visit all the training schools of a province once every two or three years.² The visits to training institutions of outsiders and various government officials may also be encouraged in order to get their impressions. Such persons may better see the situation as a whole than some of those who are actually engaged in the details.

¹ "The great degree of real freedom enjoyed by the students and teaching staff of training colleges is one of chief characteristics of the training of teachers in England. With respect to the curriculum, the Board of Education simply fixes the lower limits and offers suggestions for courses, but the faculties of training colleges are perfectly free to reject government schemes in favour of their own." (P. Sandiford, *Training of Teachers in England and Wales*, p. 141.)

² This has been proposed for the normal schools of the United Provinces. (*Training of Teachers*, 1918.)

H. FINANCE

The money expended for training schools increased rapidly in recent years, but fell in 1923 on account of financial stringency.¹ Over 5 per cent. of all the provincial money that is spent on public instruction goes to training schools, and 3 per cent. of all educational funds. Over 85 per cent. of all the money spent for men's training schools comes from provincial sources, and over 79 per cent. of what is spent for women's training schools.

The average cost per student in training schools in India increased between 1912 and 1923, from 144 to 216 rupees. The figure is greater than this in schools managed by provincial governments and local bodies, and less in aided institutions.² "Fees are not ordinarily charged in training institutions. On the contrary, stipends are generally given to the students, either by government or by the local bodies or authorities in whose service they are already employed, or likely to be employed—a fact which adds greatly to the cost of this type of education."³

To show the items of expenditure by training schools, three typical budgets are given:

United Provinces Normal Schools, with 100 students (1917):

| | RUPEES. |
|---|---------|
| 7 masters, at a total of 585 rupees per mensem .. | 7,020 |
| 100 stipends, at 8 rupees per mensem .. | 9,600 |
| 1 servant at 8 rupees and 4 servants at 6 rupees per mensem | 384 |
| Travelling allowance | 200 |
| Purchase of books | 120 |
| Purchase of prizes | 25 |

¹ EXPENDITURE ON TRAINING SCHOOLS IN RUPEES

| | 1921 | 1922 | 1923 |
|--------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| For men .. | 4,222,347 | 4,662,852 | 4,602,067 |
| For women .. | 1,015,436 | 1,201,248 | 1,146,294 |
| | <u>5,237,783</u> | <u>5,864,100</u> | <u>5,748,361</u> |

² The corresponding United States figures were 572 rupees for State normal schools and 329 rupees for city and county normal schools. (*Bulletin* 1923, No. 16, p. 2, United States Bureau of Education.)

³ *Education in India, 1912-17*, I, p. 158. The average cost per student in training schools exceeds by 120 rupees that for Indians in secondary schools.

| | | | | | RUPEES. |
|----------------------------------|----|----|----|----|---------|
| Supply of free light to boarders | .. | .. | .. | .. | 300 |
| Contingencies | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1,600 |
| Total Rupees | | | | | 19,249 |

United Provinces Training Classes with eight students (1917):¹

| | | | | | RUPEES |
|---|----|----|----|----|--------|
| Headmaster and two assistants, at 25, 14 and 12 rupees per mensem | .. | .. | .. | .. | 612 |
| Eight stipends, at 8 rupees per mensem | .. | .. | .. | .. | 768 |
| Repair of furniture and purchase of appliances | .. | .. | .. | .. | 10 |
| Repair of buildings | .. | .. | .. | .. | 30 |
| House rent of hostel (including miscellaneous expenditure) | .. | .. | .. | .. | 24 |
| Contingencies (ink, paper, chalk, etc.) | .. | .. | .. | .. | 15 |
| Library grant | .. | .. | .. | .. | 5 |
| Total Rupees | | | | | 1,464 |

Bengal Guru-Training Schools, with 40 students (1924):

| | | | | | RUPEES. |
|---|----|----|----|----|---------|
| Three teachers, at 75, 35 and 35 rupees | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1,740 |
| Forty stipends, at 10 rupees per mensem | .. | .. | .. | .. | 4,800 |
| Contingencies | .. | .. | .. | .. | 180 |
| Total Rupees | | | | | 6,720 |

In these budgets from 26 to 42 per cent. of the expenditure goes for salaries, and from 50 to 70 per cent. for stipends.

In Bengal, and in some other provinces, the accommodation for the training schools is often inadequate, and in some cases bad. Training schools, even more than other institutions, suffer severely from the lack of adequate libraries.²

It is desirable that there be : sufficient expenditure on training schools so that teachers will be supplied to the public

¹ Since the model school, which is cared for by the assistants and the students, saves the expenditure of 678 rupees per annum for a full primary school, this amount can be subtracted from the 1,464 rupees, leaving the net cost of a training class as 786 rupees per annum, or approximately 98 rupees for each of the eight students in training. (*Training of Teachers*, 1918.)

² "The importance of libraries as factors in the education, both of the pupil and of the adult, is apt to be overlooked when set textbooks and examinations dominate the curriculum. There has been some progress; but one could wish it had been greater." (*Education in India*, 1912-17, I, p. 28.)

schools who will do their work efficiently, for in this way, rather than from a niggardly policy, can the public get the due return for its investment in training schools; and also a good distribution of the investment over the different items of expenditure, so that nothing vital is neglected.

The following next steps are suggested :

1. *Concentrate the funds for the training of teachers* on institutions with 30 to 120 students in training, or 30 to a class, so that they can be staffed, housed and equipped well, instead of spending the money on smaller, inferior training schools.¹ The salaries of the staff in nearly all institutions need to be considerably increased, in order to help overcome the reluctance of the best men to teach in training schools. This is even more important than increasing the stipends of students. Christian missions should further co-operate in building up progressive union institutions.

2. *Publish and exchange information* about the finances of all training schools in India or in a province, showing the actual distribution of funds among the different items of expenditure and suggesting improvements in such distribution.

3. *Enlarge the training school libraries* by adding many vernacular books on education and much good vernacular literature. It would be very valuable to have a central library in the main training college or university of the province, with a large supply of educational books that could be lent as needed to any training institution in the province. The money now spent for prizes could far better be spent on books for the libraries.

4. *Gradually accumulate endowments*, or other permanent sources of income, to cover part of the annual running expenses.

¹. "It is to be noted that the developments of the policy with regard to training schools have been all away from the small inefficient institutions, and towards larger institutions serving a wider area with better paid staff." (Biss, *Primary Education in Bengal*, 1921, p 44.)

"The inspector of Allahabad reports that the average cost per annum of a pupil in a training class is 256 rupees, whereas in a government normal school it is only 220 rupees." (*Education in the United Provinces*, 1917-22, p. 105.)

CHAPTER VII

COURSES FOR PROFESSIONAL PREPARATION

A. Observation and Practice—B. Study of Subject Matter.—C. General Work.—D. The Curriculum as a Whole.—E. Instructional Problems.

A. OBSERVATION AND PRACTICE

THE training schools of India make good provision for observation of teaching work,¹ but not enough for the discussion of what has been observed, and for linking it up with broad principles. Excessive reliance is placed on the efficacy of observation in moulding the practice of those in training, and it consumes time, some of which could better be devoted to practice work involving responsibility.

More emphasis is laid on the criticism lessons than on other forms of practice in class teaching. In such lessons, the student teaches in the presence of the training class, and his work is criticized by the others. A weakness in the giving of these lessons is that isolated units of subject matter are taught by students who know nothing of the particular capacities and interests of the individual pupils.²

¹ According to the Madras regulations, "model lessons should be arranged in all courses, each course covering one of the school subjects or a well marked portion of it." In the United Provinces six demonstration lessons are given every year in each subject of the curriculum. With the purpose of making a larger amount of observation feasible in the training classes before the new students have to teach, two students are kept over from the preceding year for a month to assist the staff of the model school. (*Training of Teachers*, p. 47.)

² J. N. Fraser says: "I believe the use of criticism lessons before the boys is quite limited. For one thing, they waste too much of the boys' time; for another, the criticism has to be reserved for a subsequent occasion and loses force." (*Training of Secondary Teachers*, 1909, p. 128.)

Other forms of practice work are usually small in amount and poorly supervised. However, the training institutions in some areas,¹ by making the students do virtually all the teaching in the model school, have an exceedingly large number of hours for practical work,² which, however, is not sufficiently supervised. Even if the staff of Indian training schools were ample, the spirit of real supervision could exist only with difficulty, since the idea of fault-finding inspection is so strongly ingrained in educational officials as it is in India, and since the dread of inspection is so very strong.

The lesson plans or notes of lessons are, in many parts of India, too long and uselessly elaborated with rulings and differently coloured inks.

The model schools are rarely large enough to give an adequate amount of supervised practice, in spite of official admission of the importance of larger model schools.³ Moreover, their staffs are, in general, poorly qualified.⁴

¹ From Madras it is reported that the practical work is both weak and insufficient in quantity.

Until recently, there was only one model school to each normal school in the United Provinces, and the average number of hours of practical teaching in two years was only 50, one-third of the teaching in the model school being done by students in training. What practical work there was, was inefficiently supervised. (*Training of Teachers*, 1918, pp. 44-45.)

² The United Provinces training classes give 450 hours of practice during a single year of training. (*Training of Teachers*, 1918, p. 60.) This plan errs in not allowing enough time for other subjects. Fifty hours out of the 450 are devoted to teaching two classes at the same time

³ See *Training of Secondary Teachers*, 1909, pp. 45-46; *Indian Educational Policy in 1913*, p. 11; Biss, *op. cit.*, p. 44. Biss says that in the guru-training schools of Bengal, even in theory, there are only supposed to be fifty boys in the practising school to forty students in the training school.

Sometimes the demonstration schools are too far away from the training schools. Mackenzie cites one case where a normal school was established over a mile from the nearest school. (*Training of Teachers*, 1908, p. 44.)

⁴ For example, in the United Provinces, small model schools connected with the training classes had, until recently, only a headmaster on the permanent staff, most of the teaching being done by the candidates. In 1917, the addition of two permanent trained assistants was proposed.

Still another great trouble with many such schools in India is that the interests of the pupils are not safeguarded. They are constantly being experimented upon by blundering students, some of whom have been given insufficient preliminary work. Naturally, the parents object to this and try to withdraw their children. The young pupils are specially harmed when they are taught only isolated lessons by the students in training. The reflex effect on the teacher of this indifference to the pupil's needs is one of the worst possible habits into which he can fall.

Usually the Indian academic year runs from about July to April and is divided by vacations into three periods of thirteen or fourteen weeks. The same subjects are generally taught over the whole year, with little differentiation between the successive periods.

To reach the following goals is advantageous: observation and carefully supervised practice in the art of teaching;¹ correlation of every course in the training school with the practical work; use of a model school or schools as the laboratory or studio of the normal school, where the candidates can be guided as they gain experience, and where their mistakes can be corrected before they become habitual. Toward securing these ends, the following suggestions are made:

1. *Divide the school year into three periods or terms*, each about thirteen weeks long, and differentiate the programmes of the various terms so as to deal more intensively with each subject for a shorter length of time than at present.

2. Give the students, during the first one to three months, *many opportunities for observing skilful teaching*, directing their attention toward definite points, and hold class discussions on what has been noted. A little observation would be continued through the course, especially during week-ends and short holidays. Where feasible, some

¹ "We wish to make our pupils feel in the innermost recesses of their souls that teaching is an art and not a science, and it must be judged by results. A good teacher is one under whom his boys make progress." (J. N. Fraser, Principal of the Vernacular Training College, Bombay.)

participation in minor school duties may well be combined with observation work.¹ This gives a certain degree of responsibility and allows closer contacts with the pupils. Such participation can be continued until the teaching of groups and classes begins.

3. *Provide amply for graded, supervised experience in teaching*, by: (a) Starting the students in group and class teaching after they have had from one to three months of observation. (b) Allowing at least 70 hours of well supervised practice teaching per annum,² and not over 150. (c) Providing that a student takes the same children for two or three weeks at a time and that he knows beforehand what ground has been covered and something about the class. (d) At the beginning of the second year of a two-year training course, or near the end of a one-year course, giving the students practice in teaching two classes simultaneously and in taking complete charge of a rural school.³

4. *Place the headmaster of the model school on the staff of the training school.* He would have the final responsibility for all the practice work done in the model school.

¹ Some of the forms of participation that have been used with success in America are: taking care of the materials that are used; measuring and recording the height and weight of a number of children; supervision of recess activities; keeping the marks of a group of children throughout the year; marking test papers.

² The students may be grouped for this work so that half of the class is teaching while the others are studying. Men who have had only eight or nine years of school work are likely to gain a very superficial understanding of principles unless they have seen them illustrated and worked out in detail.

The minimum amount of practice required in England is 120 hours during the two years' training course.

³ All the provinces ought to do what Assam has done in two training schools: "A new phase of teaching this year was the opportunity given for practical teaching under village school conditions; small buildings near each training class were fitted up with simple equipment and made to resemble a village school. Here four classes were assembled having children of various ages, and the candidates in training were called upon to take entire charge and keep four classes working at once." (*Education in Assam, 1919*, p. 12.) Practice work of this kind is carried on in the United States and in Prussia by student-teachers. (Kandel, *Training Elementary School Teachers in Germany*, p. 75.)

5. *Have the staff of the training school, especially the subject-matter teachers,¹ directly supervise the practice work of individual students.* The criticisms and suggestions from the room teachers would go through the subject-matter teachers. They would be in the class-room during part of the practice time, if possible. The supervisors can use practice lessons as bases for constructive criticisms and for tying particular facts to general principles.

6. *Require the students to draw up lesson plans, or notes of lessons, until they can make them out thoughtfully in such a way as will actually help them in teaching; but all long or highly ornamented plans are to be discouraged.* Occasionally the students may be made to draw up outlines of the material to be covered in a series of lessons lasting from two weeks to a term.

7. *Provide for the following kinds of conferences:* (a) Individual conferences, regular but informal, in which each student would frankly discuss with one of the subject-matter teachers his teaching, including its strong and weak points; (b) general conferences, once a month or once a fortnight, of all the students with the staffs of the training and demonstration schools, for which preparation would ordinarily be made, in order to create and maintain a strong institutional spirit and encourage a feeling of responsibility among the students; (c) smaller group conferences as the occasion demands.

8. *Connect a model school with the training school and also arrange with other recognized institutions for*

¹ The subject-matter teachers in the training school are chosen for the supervisory work rather than the room teachers in the model school, because they generally have higher qualifications and capacity for this work than the room teachers

It is recommended in the United States that "the number of practice teachers supervised by a special supervisor at any one time should in no case exceed twenty. In actual practice, a much smaller number is very desirable." (Report on Practice Teaching for Secondary Teachers, *Eighteenth Year Book, National Society for the Study of Education*, Part I, p. 260.)

If the supervision is done by men who also teach, as suggested above, they could not supervise more than ten students the same day, and preferably fewer than that.

doing in them fixed amounts of practical work.¹ There are great advantages for the training school in having a model school under its complete control; more flexibility to meet special circumstances comes in this way than is otherwise possible. However, except when there are few students, a single model school can rarely supply all the practice that is so necessary. A well qualified staff for the demonstration school is essential, better than would ordinarily be found in schools of the same grade elsewhere.²

9. *Arrange that no more than three-quarters* (preferably one-half) *of the teaching of any class be done by students in training.* A man should teach the same class for at least two weeks at a time. Further, the school connected with the training school needs to be more than a mere place for practice; its standards should be high enough to enable it to demonstrate the best ways of teaching and managing a school.

10. *Have one or more small schools in the neighbourhood* controlled by the training school and kept at a fairly high standard, but close to ordinary rural conditions; and also have agreements with ordinary village schools, so that they may sometimes be used for practice by students in training.

B. STUDY OF SUBJECT MATTER

The present courses include "some extension of the candidate's knowledge, especially where he has not passed the full middle-vernacular course."³ In many areas the courses are too difficult and the examinations require an unnecessary amount of abstract information having little bearing on the teaching that is to be done. In the training institutions of the United Provinces, however, the work

¹ Biss recommends that this be done in Bengal with all the schools within a radius of two miles. (*Primary Education in Bengal*, p. 45.)

² For example, the two practising schools of the Baroda Training College very wisely have specially qualified staffs, all the teachers having had three years of training.

³ *Education in India, 1912-17*, I, p. 165.

in subject matter is given along with the way of presenting it to children, and no subjects are carried much beyond the middle-school syllabus, except the two vernacular languages.¹

Drawing is generally too technical and geometrical, being largely a matter of copying designs. Commonly, the course in nature study is poorly carried out, because of the lack of adequately qualified men to teach it.²

Desirable goals are: to enlarge the students' range of knowledge and their ability to reason on what they know; to assist the students in imparting what they know to primary pupils, so that the pupils will receive it as their own; to familiarize them not only with the material that is now being taught in the village schools, but also with what should be taught.

These next steps are suggested:

1. *In the subject-matter courses, in general, give the students some new material that they have not had before, but closely related to what they are going to teach; and also review the subject matter of the primary school indicating the best methods that can be used in teaching it. It would be well to have the same members of the staff teach both subject matter and method, and also supervise the practical teaching in given subjects.*³
2. See that the students at the beginning of the course do a *great deal of reading to themselves on general topics*, so as to give them a broader intellectual background and a

¹ *Training of Teachers, 1918, p. 42.*

² In Madras, nature study is said to be the weakest subject in the training schools. In the United Provinces the teaching of it was suspended in 1917, because there were no men capable of giving the course.

The work in nature study and school gardens is more enthusiastically and successfully carried on in the Bombay training schools than those of most provinces. The report on Public Instruction in Bombay says: "Use is fully made of every little strip of open land available for the purpose. Plants are also reared in pots for observational purposes. Study of insects, birds and animals is pursued with zest with improvised materials. An aquarium has now been improvised in almost all the training schools."

³ This practice in Prussia is noted by Dr. I. L. Kandel in *Training Elementary School Teachers in Germany*, p. 104.

larger vocabulary. This will prepare the way for more intelligent work along all other lines in the training school. Much time needs to be allowed for general discussions of what has been read.

3. *Show the students how to remedy the present weakness in the teaching of reading* as now done in the village school. This may well come at the beginning of the training course because of its basic importance.

4. *Give one or two terms of work in arithmetic*, first strengthening what the students have learned in the middle school and making it more permanent, and later going quickly over the primary syllabus to examine the best ways of teaching it in the village environment. Such work needs to come early in the course on account of its importance, and since it is one of the first subjects to be taught in the demonstration school.

5. *Have one or more terms' study of personal and school hygiene.*¹ Two terms of work are desirable because: the students know so little about good health when they come to the training school; many of the village school children are afflicted with diseases that will probably go untended unless the teacher knows how to recognize symptoms and treat minor ailments; also, it is more necessary for the teacher to impart good health habits than literacy.²

6. In the *geography course* emphasize the adaptation of man to his environment, especially in the particular province. It will deal with places beyond the province or outside India only in case these have a real relationship to

¹ The teacher candidates need to be led to such strong convictions of the supreme value of good health for themselves and for their pupils, that they will loyally obey and teach the laws of good health. A large part of the preparation for the course on hygiene that the students make will be the reading, in the vernacular, of government bulletins on diseases and sanitation that will be useful later to them and all the literate villagers.

² "In the present state of health conditions in the village community, there is no more important subject in the curriculum than hygiene. The aim in teaching this subject to teachers for village and middle schools is not so much the imparting of accurate technical knowledge as the creation in the teacher (however young and immature) of a conscience with regard to the laws of health, and a sensitiveness to the physical condition of the pupil." (*Village Education in India*, p. 95.)

the teachers or to the village life. This course will prepare the way for an appreciative study of *Indian life and history*, taking cognizance of the main features of India's past and present life, particularly stressing the great personalities and their achievements.

7. Centre *agricultural nature study* around actual cultivation of land by the students themselves. The work should include careful attention to animal and plant life and weather conditions as affecting agriculturists, and the best ways of leading children to accurate observation, so that they will get more enjoyment and stimulation from their environment. The students may go on occasional field trips. Correlated with this nature study would be *drawing* and sketching, including that on blackboard, slate and paper. The expression of original ideas by drawing, the illustration of stories, and map-making would also be taken into account.

8. Direct the work in *writing and spelling* toward the elimination of the students' defects in handwriting and spelling, and toward the best means of teaching these subjects. Blackboard writing for teachers will also be taken up. For practice material, letters and village documents will be used.

9. Give a course in *Indian music*, as is done in the Central Provinces, including the singing of lyrics, play songs and work songs. Songs would also be adapted and made by the students. For those who have the natural facility, the playing of simple indigenous instruments will be encouraged. Through music the teacher can do a vast amount to enrich the lives of village children, for it is one of the few forms of art that are readily available to them.

10. Give a course in *industrial arts*, covering a study of primary hand work, with attention to the needs of the small village school and the raw materials of the rural environment, including fibres, clay and so forth. The main purpose is to stimulate wholesome respect for, and participation in, the simple industrial processes adapted to the locality, so that practical principles can later be passed on to primary children. The study would be correlated with the course in Indian life and history.

C. GENERAL WORK

The training courses now ordinarily include "reading a simple work on the principles and practice of education,"¹ which is not very satisfactory. Most of the training schools give work in physical exercises, but it is often very poorly done on account of the inadequately qualified men who take charge.² Excursions are sometimes made by the students of training institutions, more so in some provinces than in others.³

It is desirable that the students have: ability to meet new situations through an understanding of important educational principles; high professional ideals and strong motives for humble service; an understanding of children and respect for them; a background of general information, since the students have had only a modicum of academic education.

The following suggestions are made:

1. In general, *illustrate principles profusely* from instances in the observation and practice work, and show exactly how the principles can be applied, so that the students will have a practical understanding of them.

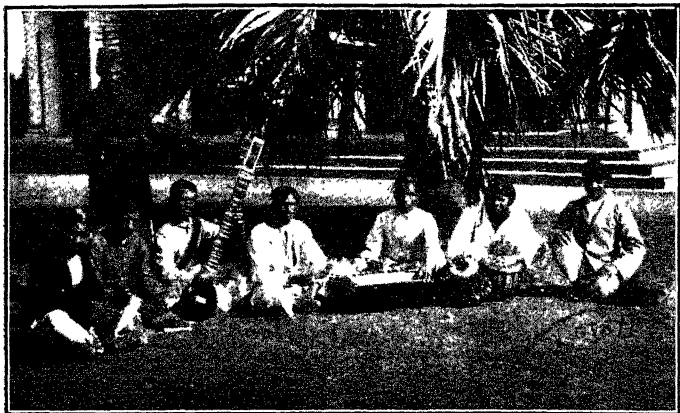
2. *Give a simple, elementary course in applied child psychology* near the beginning of the training course, in order to kindle knowledge and warm appreciation of the nature of children, and to stimulate a desire to help the

¹ *Education in India, 1912-17*, I, p. 165.

² Courses in physical exercises in the United Provinces consist of the middle school *desi kasrat* (indigenous exercises), revised with special reference to teaching it to pupils and with additional bar exercises.

Referring to the secondary schools of Bengal, Michael West says what also applies to most Indian training schools: "The teachers are paid salaries which will not secure men of any physique or athletic powers; salaries not sufficient to provide such food as would make hard exercise a possibility." (*Education*, p. 191.)

³ Grants are given for the expenses of making excursions in Baroda and Bombay. In 1921, when the grants for this purpose were stopped in Bombay, the students cheerfully paid their own expenses. (*Education in Bombay, 1921*, p. 22.) Excursions form an important part of the work of the Agra Training College.



TRAINING SCHOOL MUSIC

These students in training use their instruments to entertain and instruct the neighbouring villagers.



A VILLAGE BAND

The best music of India has never been popularized; the poorer cultivators seek relief from their tedious drudgery in the crudest, noisiest instruments.

pupils' general development and growth in subject matter.¹ The course would be based on observation and deal with such problems as the following: the original nature of the child and the ways in which to utilize it, including emotional as well as intellectual tendencies; habit formation; how children learn; making discipline educative. It would also consider the child's physical nature, and the diagnosis of his condition so as to know the best time and manner for presenting material without fatiguing him. One of the most important items would be the individual differences among children in mental, nervous, social, and physical nature. If a very simple textbook is available, it would be used by the students in preparation for the course.

3. *Give instruction regarding community relations* near the middle of the training course, to give the students a clearer vision of the possibilities of village life, of the ways to realize them, and of the best means of teaching adults. The work may well include: the community relations of the teacher; co-operative societies; government agencies concerning local welfare; the school as a community centre; improvement of home life; local resources; economic production and distribution; debt; young men's clubs for nature study or agricultural production. Such topics will also be discussed as the best ways of arousing and keeping interest in learning; the night school; the maintenance of literacy by the reading of useful material; and the ways of getting such material. Most of the preparation for the course will consist in reading and evaluating government pamphlets useful to villagers. Officials whose work directly concerns village welfare will be asked to give occasional lectures. The instruction would be closely correlated with practical community service, as suggested in the preceding chapter under school life and spirit.

¹ "One great lesson to be learned is that a teacher's thoughts must be centred, not upon himself, but upon his class." (*Training of Secondary Teachers*, 1909, p. 129.) "Teacher training in America and England today, with its appeal to what lies in the child, its care for the physical, and its intelligent use of the child's environment and love of activity, is exactly what India needs." (*Village Education in India*, p. 93.)

4. *Conduct a course in the principles of teaching and management* at the end of the training course,¹ in order to review and integrate all the instruction and practical work that has gone before, and to lead the students to see the importance of their future work. The course will embrace topics like the following: the meaning and aims of education; types of class-room exercises; teaching as contrasted with lecturing; best methods of teaching; the use of projects; questioning; assignments; how to secure independent study;² the selection and organization of subject matter, in order to secure strong incentives for work. It will also deal with the classification and marking of pupils; discipline; initiating and maintaining class routine; daily programmes and lesson plans; arrangement of the class-room and the utilization of maps; reading sheets, and other forms of school equipment; the keeping of registers and the making of reports; the relation of the teacher to the school system and to education officials. The preparation will consist largely of studying one or two simple text-books. A high quality of teaching and organization in both the training school and the demonstration school is an enormous aid to the success of this course.

5. *Give a course in oral expression* at the beginning of the training course, with the purpose of securing correctness and facility in speaking the vernacular and of cultivating a good teaching voice. The practice material will consist in telling vividly various kinds of stories, which will be useful later for the village teacher.

6. *Hold general exercises* for a few minutes at the beginning of every day when school is in session. During these periods, *esprit de corps* and professional ideals can be fostered, preferably strengthened by religious motives. General information and useful subjects not belonging

¹ Gregory's *Seven Laws of Teaching*, New Edition (Boston, Pilgrim Press, 1917), has been used to advantage for such work by instructors in Indian training schools.

² The aim of teaching as a fine art is to secure learning in the child of two general types: that controlled by the ideas of the teacher as the representative of society; and that controlled by the social ideas of the pupil himself. Learning of the second type is study or independent learning, and to it the first kind should lead.

elsewhere can also be taught; especially important is it to show the students how to study, how to take notes from lectures without their being dictated, how to take notes from books, and how to use books and their indexes.

7. Devote time every other afternoon to supervised *games and physical education*. Some games and sports may well be played especially for the benefit of the students themselves, but in addition those games and drills that are suitable for primary children will be regularly taken up. There should be frequent participation in the conducting of games and exercises in the demonstration school. Games can play a vital part in forming character and the ability to co-operate loyally.¹ Near the beginning of the work in physical education should come a thorough physical examination of all students, followed by the necessary remedial measures.

8. *Take the students on excursions* to neighbouring points of interest for systematic observations. This might be done for one or two hours, two Saturdays a month. It is well to provide for some social service work at such times, to accustom the students to skilful ways of helping rural people.

D. THE CURRICULUM AS A WHOLE

The courses are generally rigidly prescribed for all the training schools and classes in each province, allowing separate institutions very little leeway to suit the curriculum to their special needs. The usual work laid down is thus described:

The courses themselves ordinarily consist of some extension of the candidate's knowledge, especially where he has not passed the full middle vernacular course, reading a simple book on the principles and practice of education, a considerable amount of drill in method, actual training in a model school under supervision, and special lessons in drawing, blackboard writing, map and globe

¹ For a discussion of the moral value of recreation, see H. Warren Wilson, *The Evolution of the Country Community*, Chapter XIII.

making, etc. Nature or rural science is frequently included as a subject.¹

1. The following organization of the curriculum is offered as one of the ways in which the courses suggested in the preceding pages could be arranged. The length of time for the different subjects could be easily varied to suit conditions :

Work Requiring Preparation

Both Years, All Terms :

Observation and practice,² daily for 30 minutes or for 2 hours and 30 minutes a week. Staff and group conferences, once a week on alternate weeks, for 45 minutes. Three 45-minute periods a week for each subject (giving nine periods a week, or 6 hours, 45 minutes).

First Year :

| | | | |
|---------------|---------|------------|------------------|
| First Term .. | Reading | Arithmetic | Child Psychology |
| Second ,, .. | Reading | Arithmetic | Hygiene |
| Third ,, .. | Reading | Arithmetic | Child Psychology |

Second Year :

| | | | |
|---------------|-------------|--------------|------------------------|
| First Term .. | Geography | Agricultural | Hygiene |
| | | Nature Study | |
| Second ,, .. | Indian Life | Agricultural | Community Relations |
| | and History | Nature Study | |
| Third ,, .. | Indian Life | Agricultural | Principles of Teaching |
| | and History | Nature Study | and Management |

On courses requiring preparation, the following would be spent in class every week :

| | | | MINUTES |
|-----------------------------|----|----|---------|
| Observation and Practice | .. | .. | 150 |
| Staff and Group Conferences | .. | .. | 45 |
| Other Subjects | .. | .. | 405 |
| All Subjects | | .. | 600 |

¹ *Education in India, 1912-17*, I, p. 165. "The government syllabi at present bear too striking a likeness to those current in Britain thirty years ago." (*Village Education in India*, p. 93.)

² This observation and practice work could be arranged as follows : First year : observation in the first term, group and class teaching in the second term, and class teaching in the third term. Second year : teaching one or two classes, except during four weeks in the second term, when there would be rural school practice.

This comes to 2 hours a day, for which an average of 3 hours a day would be spent in preparation, or a total of 5 hours a day.

Work Not Requiring Preparation

First Year, All Terms :

| SUBJECT | NUMBER OF PERIODS A WEEK | MINUTES IN PERIOD | MINUTES A WEEK |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| General Exercises .. | .. 5 | 20 | 100 |
| Physical Education .. | .. 3 | 30 | 90 |
| Individual Conferences .. | .. 2 | 30 | 60 |
| Writing and Spelling .. | .. 2 | 30 | 60 |
| Drawing .. | .. 1 | 30 | 30 |
| Oral Expression .. | .. 1 | 30 | 30 |
| Music .. | .. 1 | 30 | 30 |
| All Subjects .. | .. 15 | | 400 |

Second Year, All Terms :

| | | | |
|---------------------------|-------|----|-----|
| General Exercises .. | .. 5 | 20 | 100 |
| Physical Education .. | .. 3 | 30 | 90 |
| Individual Conferences .. | .. 2 | 30 | 60 |
| Drawing .. | .. 2 | 30 | 60 |
| Industrial Arts .. | .. 2 | 30 | 60 |
| Writing and Spelling .. | .. 1 | 30 | 30 |
| All Subjects .. | .. 15 | | 400 |

Courses not requiring preparation will thus take one-fifth of 400 minutes, or 80 minutes every day. Together with the 5 hours to be spent on courses requiring preparation, the total time for school work comes to 6 hours and 20 minutes a day. This relatively light schedule is here suggested so that there will be unassigned time that can be devoted to special purposes as occasions arise.

2. *Another possible arrangement* of the curriculum would be to devote the first year to a study of the elementary school and a thorough review of its work, and the second year to intensive training in teaching, which would centre in the practice work of the demonstration school.

3. A few outstanding institutions need to be given *more freedom and resources to conduct careful experiments with the content and organization of the training curriculum* with a view to adapting it better to the work that

the students will do in the villages.¹ For example, the introduction of work with a vocational bias into the village training schools is a field calling for practical exploration.

E. INSTRUCTIONAL PROBLEMS

Too much time is now usually given to the absorption of details from lectures and memorizing them in preparation for the final examination. The class periods are mainly devoted to the reiteration of small points of information, rather than to thought-provoking discussion,² and are very poorly correlated with the practical work, partly because of the Indian's fondness for pure theory. The syllabus is very often followed too blindly, one result being that time is wasted on repeating what has already been learned. In fact, the whole function of the training school is commonly regarded in too mechanical a light, as a place to put people through certain motions, rather than a place for stimulating independent thought and study. Whatever text-books are available in the vernacular are, in general, either defective in quality or else beyond the comprehension of the students.

The students spend too much time on making the form of their notes beautiful or conventional, rather than on putting rational thought into them. In other instances, they have too little work to prepare.

Uniform examinations are usually given in subject matter and theory for all training institutions of a province.³

¹ The writer knows of two training schools, one in the Punjab and the other in the Madras Presidency, which, having been allowed such freedom, are making experiments of great promise.

² The students in training have not been taught to think for themselves to the same extent as have those in England and America. (*Training of Teachers*, 1918, p. 44.)

³ They are administered in the United Provinces and some other areas by a board including educators from outside the particular institution. The following is an example of the range of subjects in which vernacular teachers are tested in subject matter and theory: literature and grammar in two languages; reading unseen passages and composition in two languages; arithmetic, geometry and algebra; history and geography; physiology and hygiene; methods of teaching and school management.

Examinations are also given in practice teaching, consisting of an exhibition of the teaching of a whole prepared lesson before the examiners.¹ The ranking of the students for the training course is likely to depend too much, except in Bombay,² on the final examinations, and not enough on the daily marks for class work or for papers handed in. The final examination tends to dominate all the instruction.

One of the underlying difficulties is that a formal and mechanical system of instruction has usually been ingrained into the poorly qualified men who now teach in the training schools. Very often, too, they are burdened with so many hours of teaching that they do not have time for adequate preparation.

Some questions will point out criteria of efficient instruction. Are the students set to thinking clearly about educational problems and their solutions? Are good examples of teaching placed before the students, instead of those defective types that they have mostly seen during their academic courses? Are systematic records kept of the progress of the students? To secure improvement, the following next steps are suggested :

1. *Improve the instruction* in such ways as the following : accustoming the students to demand evidence and to draw data from many sources ; commending any original ideas of the students, even though they may not be well expressed ; setting aside a few minutes during at least one recitation each week in each subject, for the discussion of problems suggested by the students ; and using those types of teaching which the students are later expected to use most, such as discussions rather than frequent lectures.

2. *Develop a larger number of simple, up-to-date textbooks in the vernacular*, especially those dealing with progressive methods.

3. *Limit the amount of work* that the training school

¹ "A single examination in practical teaching before outsiders is rarely an accurate test of the student's ability." (*Calcutta University Commission Report*, II, 13.)

² The examination papers in the Vernacular Training College at Bombay are not marked, and the formal examination at the end of the course has been dropped.

teachers carry, so as to allow enough preparation in order to secure a high quality of teaching. If it can be done without overburdening them, it would be well for them to take turns at regular teaching for two weeks at a time in the model school.¹

4. *Improve the system of records* by such means as: basing more of the student's total grade on daily and weekly marks and less on the final examination, especially as regards practice teaching; in the case of examinations conducted by authorities from outside the school, presenting to the examiners beforehand a relative classification of the different students, and allowing the examiners to give their own rankings; and keeping files or drawers of cards or loose leaves that show the periodic records of the students in each subject and the summary of these separate records.

¹ "The staff of the training college should do a great deal of work themselves. If they do not, their pupils will never believe the principles they enunciate can be, and should be, put into practice, and they will not realize that a school-room should be alive. Of course, a good lecturer on method may not always be a good schoolmaster, but if we have to choose, we should certainly choose in India, for the purposes of a training college, a good schoolmaster." (J. N. Fraser, *Training of Secondary Teachers*, 1909, p. 123.)

In the United Provinces normal schools it has been proposed to increase the staff from six to eight masters for the hundred students, so as to allow more time for the staff to do their work, especially the supervision. In the United States it is generally considered harmful to educational efficiency to have instructors teach over sixteen clock hours a week; time for administrative and supervisory work being considered about half the equivalent of a given amount of teaching, because needing less preparation.

CHAPTER VIII

DEVELOPMENT AND SERVICE OF TEACHERS

A. Status and Salary.—B. Professional Growth through Supervision.—C. Community Service.—D. Efforts for Adult Literacy.

A. STATUS AND SALARY

Most important is it that the village teachers have a respected status and reasonable salary,¹ for only so can they well perform their very necessary and difficult task of directing the minds of the mass of Indian citizens. At present, however, the situation is so bad that men seldom remain as village teachers except under the compulsion of circumstances.² Moreover, the modern teacher receives but a fraction of the respect formerly attaching to the guru. Anyone, no matter how little his education, can teach in the unrecognized schools. The same is often true of the aided schools, though the amount of their grant partly depends on the qualifications of the teacher. In the

¹ "I would press upon you, then, in the first place to concentrate on the teaching problem. We want . . . to raise the status of the teaching profession to make it a calling with prizes which will induce men to enter it as a profession. For this we must raise the pay of teachers. Much has, no doubt, been done in recent years to raise the pay of teachers, but I would ask you to consider whether the pay given now, and more especially the minimum pay, is adequate." (H. E. Baron Chelmsford, the Viceroy, at the Conference of Directors of Public Instruction, 1917.)

² "As things are now, school teaching in Bengal is scarcely a profession at all, inasmuch as, with a few notable exceptions, the best qualified men who are at present working as schoolmasters are avowedly only doing so until they can take up some more lucrative employment." (*Calcutta University Commission Report*, II, 21.)

publicly managed schools the situation is somewhat better, though it is very bad in some areas.¹ Of the vernacular teachers in the primary schools in 1922, 36·7 per cent. were trained, the figure² being lowest for Bengal and highest for the Punjab.

The large majority of those who go through the training courses pass the examination and get a certificate. But even those who fail can get teaching positions with little difficulty. A period of probationary work is often required before a certificate is made permanent.³ In most provinces, a large proportion of the men who have had training return to the same position as they previously held.⁴

Few of the village primary teachers receive more than a bare living wage, and many getting considerably less are forced to supplement their income in other ways.⁵ In 1917,

¹ "There are many gurus who cannot read or write the matter of Bengali readers correctly. There are again many unacquainted with arithmetic, beyond the first two simple rules" (A divisional inspector of schools, quoted by Biss, *Primary Education in Bengal, 1921*, p. 43.)

² In Madras, in 1919-20, only 2,269 of the 11,883 teachers in the schools taught and managed by the same man were trained. (*Education, 1920*, p. 7.) In England and Wales, in 1921, 70·3 per cent of the public elementary school teachers were certificated. (*Board of Education Report, 1922*, p. 96.)

³ For example, in Madras, probationary certificates are given only to those who have passed the training school leaving certificate examination. Such teachers are considered as trained certificated teachers for three years. The certificates are not completed until at least 18 months of satisfactory work in a recognized school and a test by an inspector or assistant inspector. If the certificate is not completed within three years, the teachers cease to enjoy the status of trained teachers.

⁴ However, in Bengal, over a fifth of the gurus trained at government expense are said to take up some other work than teaching. (Biss, *Primary Education in Bengal, 1921*, p. 14.)

⁵ "The inadequacy of the present pay, and the poverty of qualification in the present teachers in primary schools, are admitted on all hands. A higher standard of intelligence and training and consequently a decent living wage, are indispensable conditions to a living scheme of primary education, complete in itself and endowing the pupil with something of permanent value to him in after life. From whatever aspect the future of primary schools is regarded, it is certain that their staff will have to be better qualified and better paid" (Lord Meston, Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, 1914)

the numbers of rupees received monthly by primary teachers averaged as follows: municipal schools, 15; local board schools, 11; aided schools, 8; or a mean of 9.¹ Since then, the figures have improved considerably, especially in the publicly managed schools. Many of the village teachers, however, are still forced to eke out by various methods the pittance that comes to them as salary. They sometimes act as village postmaster or licensed quinine vendor, write letters for illiterates, conduct small business ventures, or receive free food from their patrons. In the last few years all provinces have increased the minimum salaries paid to teachers in publicly managed schools. Among the aided schools, there has been a similar tendency, but slower and less uniform. Their teaching grants are sometimes graded according to the training of the teacher, but in other cases the differences are insignificant.²

Some of the basic troubles are that: teaching in the villages is often despised and considered unworthy of being done by better qualified or better paid men than are now doing it; the village teacher lives so far isolated from the places where educational policy is formulated that his plight is often ignored; the number of village teachers is so great, that a uniform increment of a single rupee to all teachers' monthly salary makes hundreds of thousands of rupees difference in the total amount paid.

Worth while ends are as follows: consideration of

¹ Alongside this Rs. 9 may be placed the Rs. 189 a month received in 1918 by the average teacher in one-teacher rural schools in the United States, where the cost of living is not over five times as high as in India. Certificated teachers in English and Welsh public elementary schools received an average of Rs. 355 a month in 1922, while uncertificated ones averaged Rs. 183.

² "So long as teachers who have not received any professional training are treated on the same footing with those who have been trained, it cannot be hoped that teachers will be very eager to put themselves to the trouble of a strenuous course of study, followed by a degree examination." (Biss, quoted in *Calcutta University Commission Report*, VII, 359.)

teaching as a life profession that deserves respect;¹ opportunities open to the teacher of worth for bearing increased responsibilities,² and for further education; a graded system of licensing and certificating the teachers in all schools, the grading to depend on academic education, professional training and approved experience; provident funds or pension provision for certificated village teachers; and a sufficient salary to draw good men to rural teaching and to enable them to save at least a small amount.³ In attaining these ends, the following next steps are suggested:

1. As soon as the changes can be introduced, *allow no public funds or grants to any primary teacher who holds neither a certificate nor a licence of some sort* granted on the authority of the department of public instruction.

2. *Introduce a graded system of certification, so that teachers will be encouraged constantly to improve their qualifications.* The requirements would be raised as time went on. A system similar to the following would be of value.—

(a) The granting of emergency licences good for two years to men with no professional training.⁴ The renewal of licences would be conditional on reading and reporting upon at least one approved book or pamphlet. The third

¹ "The profession of teaching is a great and honourable profession, and it should engage the whole attention of those who follow it. But this is not likely to be the case as long as teachers are paid an inadequate wage." (Baron Chelmsford, Convocation Address to Calcutta University.)

"It is because the teaching profession in Germany holds out better social and, to a lesser extent, financial inducements, that the type of teachers required by the system can be obtained." (I. L. Kandel, *Comparative Education*, p. 130.)

² In the Philippines, all the higher grades in the teaching service are open to the ambitious teacher who has had normal school training. (*Philippine Normal School Announcement, 1919.*)

³ Dr. G. H. Palmer, in *The Teacher*, says that the members of the profession should "be protected against want, anxiety, neglect, and bad conditions of labour. To do his best work one needs not merely to live, but to live well."

⁴ The validity of a licence might be made six years instead of two in the case of middle-aged men of good experience and worth, who cannot benefit by much training.

renewal of a licence would only be made by the director of public instruction.

(b) The granting of the following classes of probationary certificates to all who have satisfactorily completed a regular training course: (i) third-class certificates to men with lower primary qualifications and one year's training; (ii) second-class certificates to men with vernacular middle qualifications and one year's training; or to men with lower qualifications and two years of training, who have also had the equivalent of one year of academic work; (iii) first-class certificates to men with vernacular middle qualifications who have had at least two years of training.

(c) The confirming of probationary certificates after at least eighteen months of approved service.¹ The confirmed certificates would hold good for six years from the time of confirmation. The certificate would be renewable, on condition that the men take short courses of further training, or read at least two books on education and pass a simple test on them.

(d) The raising of the grant to the school as the teacher betters his qualifications.

3. By every available means, *strengthen the incentive for teachers to improve their qualifications* and to continue in educational work, especially by: (a) raising teachers' salaries as their certificates and teaching qualifications are improved; (b) refusing any salary increase merely on the ground of long service to those who do nothing to better their professional qualifications during four years; (c) facilitating teachers of proven ability, with vernacular middle qualifications and two years of training, becoming headmasters of the larger primary schools in the villages; (d) encouraging men of at least the qualifications just stated, who have also had two years of successful service, to

¹ *Village Education in India*, p. 96. In regard to the vernacular training colleges of Bombay, the principal states, "We do not send away men who are expert teachers, that is a thing a training college cannot possibly do. The amount of practice requisite to make an expert teacher may be put as one year's continuous work for an exceptionally gifted man, and five years' for most people." (*Training of Secondary Teachers*, 1909, p. 131.)

become supervisors; (e) rendering all teachers, whose certificates have been confirmed, eligible for the benefits of a provident fund scheme (or to a pension).

4. Give *general publicity* to the low salary and status of village teachers, so that the public will be more ready to vote for increased taxes in order to remedy these conditions.

B. PROFESSIONAL GROWTH THROUGH SUPERVISION

The ordinary Indian village teacher's patience renders him a fair instructor in the more mechanical forms of school work in which drill is predominant, but this same patience easily degenerates into carelessness about what the children are doing and thinking. He shows little adaptability to new conditions. Nor does he realize the importance of the results that can be secured through good teaching.¹ Moreover, he is likely to grow discouraged and his practice to degenerate into unthinking routine, because it is so extremely difficult to do his work well; he is isolated from others engaged in education; the environment is narrow and uninspiring. Even the very well-trained teacher has a rough road in the villages. Although short courses for further training have been found very beneficial,² they have not been held in many places.

In some schools, records of former students are kept. Men who have gone out from training schools in Madras are required to send in information about themselves for three years; and women for two years. This makes it possible to keep track of the alumni.

The village schools are little helped by the members of the local boards, busied as they are with many public matters and their own private concerns. School com-

¹ "The teacher has too often been drawn to his profession by inability to enter any other, has little or no capacity for the discharging of his duties, and shows but faint interest in his work." (*Education in India, 1907-12*, I, p. 112.)

² For the system of retraining in the Central Provinces, see *Education in India, 1912-17*, I, p. 166. For an example of successful "refresher" courses, see *Village Education in India*, pp. 109-2.

mittees have been introduced in connection with some local boards and privately managed schools; although not always very successful, they have produced some good results when they have been encouraged and guided in the performance of their work for the schools. From such sources no professional supervision can be expected.

All recognized institutions are inspected at least once or twice a year. The inspection of primary and secondary schools is done by the provincial educational department, or sometimes by representatives of local boards. The Indian, provincial, and subordinate services furnish the members of a minutely graded hierarchy that directs and inspects all public instruction. The superior inspecting staff have to do so much inspection of secondary institutions and office work that they can spend almost no time in the primary schools. Consequently, the impression is formed that the primary schools are of small importance. The lowest members of the inspecting force, who visit the village schools, have few qualifications for their important duties, but a narrowly scholastic training in town schools and almost no effective preparation for their particular work, if the courses in Bombay lasting a fortnight be excepted.¹ But even in cases when the men are qualified, they have no time for more than a cursory inspection.²

The inspectional system does secure accuracy in certain activities and in many details, but it is largely a matter of criticizing in passing a few detached defects or breaches of regulations that everybody admits are there, without showing how they can be remedied.³ What the teacher has

¹ *Education in India, 1912-17*, I, p. 42. Biss remarks: "Primary education has, therefore, come to be more a matter of statistics than of children."

² The Bengal sub-inspector has an average of 172 primary schools, with their discouraging difficulties, which he is supposed to visit once or twice a year, if possible. (Biss, *Primary Education in Bengal*, p. 51.) The Madras sub-assistant inspector has an average of 173 schools, but he was assisted by a subordinate. (*Education in Madras, 1918-19*, I, p. 4.)

³ "The inspecting officers are interested in furniture, in attendance, and occasionally in registers. But with regard to the real function of the school, teaching, and its real product, education, they manifest the smallest enthusiasm." (West, *Education*, p. 163.)

been doing for a whole year is often hastily judged in a few brief moments. The process of inspection very often lacks concentration and continuity of purpose.¹ On the other hand, sympathetic, constructive supervision is scarcely found. What goes by the name of supervision is often nothing else than inspection or troublesome interference.

To some extent, girls' primary schools are still inspected by men, but the tendency is to replace them with women. In the recent reorganization of the Indian and provincial educational services, the conditions of service in the women's branch have been improved.²

Teachers' meetings and small conferences are conducted by the inspecting force far more frequently in some areas than in others.³ A number of Christian missions also conduct similar meetings for teachers. Teachers' associations are "multiplying under departmental encouragement and are reported to be doing good work. The Madras Presidency possesses one hundred associations, with an enrolment of 3,000."⁴ Some Christian schools enjoy better supervi-

"The inspecting officers never fail to record their opinions about the discipline of the school inspected, but they never note whether the teaching was directed toward the development of the faculty of thinking." (Lajpat Rai, *National Education in India*, p. 176.)

What Dr. C. P. Loram says of the similar British system of inspection in South Africa also applies to India: "Its inherent wrongness is that it puts teacher and inspector in a wrong relation to one another. There is a suspicion of espionage—especially when so-called 'surprise' visits are paid—which is hurtful to education. The objective of both teacher and inspector should be the same, and the inspector, from his superior training, experience and knowledge, should take the attitude of friend and adviser, and not that of detective." (*Education of the South African Native*, p. 85.)

¹ "A perusal of almost any inspection book will show that stark and corrigible faults have been in existence for ten years in schools which have been inspected in that period some twenty or thirty times. Intermittent notes draw attention to the faults, intermittent notes neglect them. Seldom or never is there any continuity or persistence manifest, or any save a general and unfocused purpose of improving it." (*Education in Assam, 1920*, p. 19.)

² *Indian Education in 1921*, p. 8.

³ Small meetings of untrained teachers are held occasionally in the United Provinces. The district boards supply one or two textbooks for each of the teachers. (*Training of Teachers, 1918*, p. 36.)

⁴ *Education in India, 1912-17*, I, p. 66.

sion than other village schools, by reason of occasional visits from a pastor or missionary, who, however, is likely to have had little or no training for educational work. Some missions hold short courses for the supervisors of village schools.

The following goals are worthy of effort: (a) Professional growth in service on the part of all teachers, including the best. By professional growth is meant improvement in the following ways: leadership; capacity for service; understanding of educational principles and ideals, and a desire to practise them; and skill in the fine art of teaching. (b) Supervision that maintains high standards, diagnoses troubles correctly, and secures adequate measures of improvement. (c) Enough supervisors to give frequent, stimulating and friendly guidance to the village teachers.¹

Suggestions are here offered as to next steps in approaching these goals:

1. *Have the training schools help the village teachers* in the following ways: giving the teachers more facilities for taking short courses of further training during the vacations;² keeping in touch with their alumni, so as to help them in the solution of their individual problems, in a supervisory, not in an administrative or inspectional relationship; making a periodical survey of their alumni regarding the positions held, their success, their later studies; keeping systematic records of these facts; preparing and sending simple professional books, pamphlets and mimeographed material in the vernacular to the teachers, also a list of places to which they can write for various kinds of information; performing such other supervisory functions as the training schools can more efficiently undertake than other agency; and seeing that the men going out from training are located, if possible, where they can have the guidance of an experienced teacher for a year or so.

2. *Appoint a qualified man for every twenty to thirty*

¹ In the Philippine Islands there is one supervisor for every thirty-three teachers, which adds greatly to their efficiency.

² See *Indian Education Policy in 1913*, p. 11.

schools for distinctly supervisory (not inspectional) work,¹ the number depending on the ease of communication. Only men with at least vernacular middle qualifications, two years of training, and a minimum of two years of educational experience should be made supervisors. They might work either in connection with publicly or privately managed schools.²

3. *Provide for genuine and effective supervision* as follows: (a) Have the helping teacher, or supervisor, depart as far as possible from a mere inspectional relationship with the village teachers, by adopting such measures as, basing his suggestions on their own reasonableness rather than on authority, announcing the time of all visits and allowing enough time for answering the teachers' own questions. (b) Direct the supervision toward the attainment of few precise objectives at a time. This makes for definite progress that can be measured and also promotes emulation and mutual helpfulness on the part of all the teachers of the supervisory area. (c) Have the supervisor, when first appointed, concentrate for a year on fifteen to twenty schools, so as to secure demonstrable results in them, which would set an example for other schools. The second year he could give special attention to a few more schools, while continuing enough supervision over the first area to prevent the teachers there from slipping back into the old grooves. (d) See that the supervisor regularly takes printed or mimeographed material on education with him on his visits and circulates them among the teachers. (e) Encourage the further growth of teachers' associations.³ (f) Start a demonstration school

¹ Probably the only way in which a larger number of schools can be effectively supervised is by means of additional meetings of groups of teachers, besides the meetings mentioned above, for all the teachers of a supervisory district.

"The supervision we have in mind is educative in character, sympathetic in attitude, and helpful and progressive in its working." (*Conference on Rural Education, Moga, December 5-11, 1922*, p. 11.)

² Some Christian missions have already appointed such supervisors. Their schools are part of the public educational system, although they are privately managed.

³ P. Sandiford speaks of a genuine professional spirit being "fostered by the various teachers' associations of England, which play

in a central location for every fifty schools or so. This would be conducted under village conditions, but would have a skilled teacher. (g) Gather all the teachers of the area at the demonstration school once a month, for observation of good teaching and of the experiments being carried on, for hearing talks on education, for discussing common problems, and for working out standards to which village schools can attain. At most teachers' meetings, some attention should be paid to health problems, preferably with a hygiene expert on hand. (h) Start teachers' institutes for all the teachers, visited by two or more supervisors. These could well be held twice a year for ten days or two weeks. (i) Establish short courses specially adapted to the need of supervisors. (j) Devote a larger proportion of educational funds to supervision, for genuine work of this kind can be made to pay rich educational returns on the money spent upon it.¹

4. Provide for *thorough study of modern education* on the part of all who are connected with the supervision of schools.

C. COMMUNITY SERVICE

The education of village children in India is not only greatly hampered by economic and social conditions, particularly the inadequate productivity, food supply, and shelter of the people,² but most of the villagers are

such an important part in the educational affairs of the country." (*Training of Teachers in England and Wales*, p. 150.)

¹ Dr. M. S. Pitman, in his study, *The Value of School Supervision*, came to the following conclusion: "(a) Children in supervised schools advanced approximately 194 per cent. as far during the seven months in the particular functions under investigation as did the children with whom they were compared. (b) Upon this as a basis, and assuming the social value of this type of educational material, the value of the service of one supervisor, who would produce such a difference in the total supervised, would be 45,102 dollars per school year for that service."

² "A very large part of the education needed in India is adult education which will supply the great new electorates with some guidance in the use of the power which constitutional reforms have placed in their hands; which will encourage them to effort on behalf of their own communities; and impel them to grapple with the poverty which now hangs like a miasma over so large a part of India." (*India in 1920*, p. 166.)

intensely conservative because of their small range of experience of outside affairs, the self-sufficiency of their life, and the economic burdens under which they are labouring. Moreover, they have very little time for new things and they think that they have less time than is actually the case. The various phases of village life have been dealt with separately by the government departments working in isolation from each other, instead of the village being treated as an organic unit.

The village teacher is now usually too busy and poorly trained to plan or carry new activities into effect without a great deal of guidance. On the other hand, co-operative credit societies, wherever they thrive, have done much to foster community welfare, because they stimulate the need for keeping accounts and records; they give funds, otherwise lacking, for putting in practice improved methods; and they make it natural for men to work together.

Of the people of India, 72 per cent. are engaged in agriculture as their main means of support. In addition, others use agriculture as a subsidiary method of earning money. Many of the village industries have been broken down by the competition of machine goods. They need to be better organized co-operatively in order to flourish at the present day.

Efforts have been made for the visual education of the Indian people, including those in the villages, in the United Provinces, Baroda and Bombay.¹

The following desirable goals for community work may be stated: the teacher's partnership with the youth and adults of the village for their betterment, in those ways in which improvement is not otherwise taking place; enough supervision from outside the village over the community work to maintain its usefulness; the organization of the life of the village community, so that the spirit and practice of co-operation will prevail, and so that the best thought of the village will be brought to bear on its basic problems;

¹ Visual instruction in Bombay is under a special educational officer. Nearly 14,000 slides and 100 lanterns are in circulation among all classes of institutions.

and the increase of the economic resources of the villagers, through increasing their income from production, and decreasing unwise expenditures and the amounts that they are unjustly compelled to pay.

The following next steps in reaching the above goals are suggested :

1. *Have the teacher give his time first to the urgent demands of the instruction of the school children*, and his remaining time to the improvement of the community. Village conditions often need to be bettered before good school education is possible. Many school activities can be so directed as to further village welfare ; for the children's work may not only be educative for themselves, but also valuable to the adults. The teacher, for such work as he can do directly with the adults, needs to choose some of the times when they are not busy, such as the weeks when little agricultural work is done and when work of all kinds is slack, also holidays, inauspicious days and Sundays ; and the evenings or a time during the day when the adults would otherwise be idle. In much of this work, the teacher needs skilled guidance, some but not all of which can come from the school supervisor.

2. *Make the school the centre for such community welfare work* as is not being done and cannot be better done by other agencies, such as the co-operative societies.¹ For example, the school might be made a distributing point for useful seeds, plants, and small trees from the Government.²

3. *Encourage village panchayats to take an active part in improving the village and its school*, by minimizing debt, extravagance, antagonisms, resort to the law courts, and by working for good educational conditions.

4. *Organize the young men into agricultural, stock-raising and village improvement groups*, that will help them not only economically but in character and intelligence as well. In this way the very critical adolescent period can

¹ For various suggestions on the school as a community centre, consult *Village Education in India*, pp. 80-85.

² In the Philippine Islands during 1918, 159,030 trees and plants were distributed through the schools.

be made to produce important benefits. These have been secured on a large scale by the boys' clubs of the United States. Scouts in the villages of India have shown themselves capable of performing important services.¹

5. Make every effort to *foster and guide co-operative societies*, first for credit and then for other functions, as marketing, buying and cattle improvement.² Specially trained men are needed to start and supervise these societies carefully. As much of the detailed work as possible should fall on the literate villagers. The teacher is to take an active part only where his help is urgently required, which will be the case, however, in most villages during the immediate future.

6. *Secure demonstrations of better agricultural methods* at places where they will most readily be seen by the cultivators, either on demonstration farms or preferably on the land of the farmers themselves.³ This work needs to be initiated and supervised by expert agriculturists, but much of the actual detail can be done by practical cultivators with short training. Fruit trees should be planted along bunds and tanks.

7. *Encourage simple and useful cottage industries*,⁴ by

¹ At the Shantiniketan Mela 100 of them "dug and supervised latrines, cleaned the whole ground, managed the whole water supply and general arrangements, and also gave a series of very instructive demonstrations to the villagers in fire brigade work." (Report, *Rural Reconstruction Department, Visva-Bharathi, 1923*, p. 6.) They themselves have also dug a drain 300 yards long with three bridges over it.

² "It is the general experience in this Presidency that the association of the people, more especially of the villagers, in co-operative societies teaches them valuable lessons of self-help, self-reliance and self-respect, mutual trust and mutual helpfulness, not to mention the important lessons of punctuality and businesslike habits." (Hemingway, *Madras Co-operative Manual*, p. 12.)

³ *Calcutta University Commission Report*, III, 34. In the United States the demonstration of agricultural improvements is largely carried out on the land of one of the progressive farmers of the neighbourhood. This method has proved far more effective in producing changes than any amount of printed matter or advice from travelling experts.

⁴ A few possible examples are : rope- and string-making, spinning, weaving, dyeing, basket-making, sewing, smithing, rough carpentry.



H R Ferges

AN IMPROVED HARROW

Such demonstration of better implements, whether on the lands of a training school or a cultivator, helps to advance the standards of the community.



H R Ferges

BRICK MAKING IN THE PUNJAB

The forming of well shaped sun dried bricks is a useful subsidiary means of livelihood.

kindling interest and facility in connection with the children's industrial-arts work and through demonstrations by outside agencies.

8. *Work definitely for better health*, concentrating effort on a few limited objectives at a time, notably such as the control of hookworm or malaria, cleaning up refuse, and improvement of diet. Concerted "drives" of this kind are immensely useful, especially if keen interest is aroused throughout the village or a broader locality. Such means as the following can be used: (a) demonstration, exhibits, and dramas for the adult villagers, prepared by the children under the guidance of the teacher; (b) other demonstrations secured from outside by the teacher or supervisor to improve the hygiene, comfort and appearance of houses;¹ (c) instruction of the women in sewing, the elements of nursing and hygiene, village sanitation and in the care of infants, by the teacher's wife, preferably with some outside aid;² for these duties she would need special training and receive some remuneration; (d) groups or clubs having to do with household matters for the girls and the younger married women, organized by the teacher's wife.

9. *Secure regular simple lectures on village welfare* in centrally located villages and occasional talks in smaller hamlets. Such occasions will mean more, if time is allowed for the asking of questions, and if simple reading material

¹ The "Movable School" as used by Tuskegee Institute, is located for three to five days at the farm house, every part of which is used in connection with the demonstration. The teachers bring painting materials, farm implements, first-aid equipment, etc. The grounds and buildings are repaired and improved by the efforts of all the people who have come, under the direction of teachers. Every one is taught how to make fly-traps, sieves, and other articles useful to the rural home. New games are played by all, to their great enjoyment.

² Demonstrations of improvements in the conditions of the home by women have been very successful in the United States in the introduction of better and more convenient practices. The women are shown how to prepare preserved food and to make the most of the limited resources at their disposal, in rendering the home attractive and comfortable.

is available.¹ Collegiate and secondary students may be asked to volunteer for this work during their vacations.

D. EFFORTS FOR ADULT LITERACY

Inasmuch as millions of the voters in India are illiterate villagers, a thorough and persistent campaign for adult literacy is absolutely vital to the political salvation of the country. Moreover, the education of children is now lacking in the motive that would be supplied, and greatly strengthened, by the ability of their parents to read and write. Educating the children alone in an illiterate community has gone for naught in many cases in India.

India is a land of extremes in education, for in spite of the high intellectual attainments of a small minority of her sons, the country is overwhelmingly illiterate at a time when it is seeking to become self-determining and progressive. Less than 23 million are literate, while 296 million are illiterate.² Of the population over five years of age in 1921, 91.8 per cent. were illiterate, comprising 86.1 of the male

¹ The lectures might take one of the following forms: demonstration, moving pictures, stereopticon, travelling exhibits. Such lectures and exhibits might be arranged by representatives of the agricultural, industrial, co-operative, or educational departments, or by other agencies. They may well be arranged at many of the fairs and festivals.

The Chinese Ministry of Education, in 1916, reported 3,489 lecture halls in different parts of China with an average of three meetings a week and the organization of groups which hold lectures in 1,863 places. One group of 22 men spoke at 305 places to over 360,000 people. (C. H. Chuang, *Tendencies toward a Democratic System of Education in China*.)

² A literate is defined for the purposes of the Indian Census as "A person who can write a letter to a friend and read his reply." It should be noted that persons who can read religious books but cannot write are reckoned as illiterate. "The number of those who can decipher the pages of a printed book with more or less difficulty is no doubt much larger." (*Census of India, 1911*, I, p. 292.) The definition of literacy is more strict than that of the United States Census, in which the figures for illiteracy "should be understood as representing only those persons who have had no schooling whatever." (*United States Census, 1920*, III, p. 10.) It should also be observed that the figures generally quoted for India include all persons under ten years, while those for other countries do not.

population and 97·9 per cent. of the female.¹ Only 5·8 per cent. of the male population and 1·21 per cent of the female are in schools of all kinds. The average duration of school life in the primary school was (1917) only 3·8 years; even during this brief time many of the children attend very irregularly and most of them are poorly instructed.

Illiteracy is undoubtedly much worse in the villages than, according to the above figures, for India as a whole, although the figures for the villages alone are not available. In cities over 100,000 the proportion of literate males is three times, and that of literate females, six times as great as it is in the general population. In these cities only 62·7 per cent. of the males and 86·1 per cent. of the females are illiterate.² On the whole, the people of British India have had considerably more education than those in the Indian States. Cochin, Travancore and Baroda, however, take rank above all the British provinces, except Burma.³

The figures for literacy vary also with the social status and occupation, being generally high among those who are writers, priests, accountants and traders. The Moslems in the village are more illiterate than the caste Hindus and the depressed classes are still more ignorant.⁴ The

¹ The 90 per cent. of population over 10 years old who are illiterate compares most unfavourably with the corresponding figures of 6 per cent. for the United States and 14 per cent. for France.

Illiteracy in Ceylon was reduced between 1889 and 1911 from 75·4 to 59·6 per cent. for all males, and from 97·5 to 89·4 per cent. for females.

² *Census of India, 1921*, p. 182. Five of the cities in the Bombay Presidency were from two to six times as literate as the rest of their districts. (*Census of India, 1921*, VIII, Bombay, I, 140.) The Madras Presidency has 152 literates per 1,000 males, but in the towns of Madura, Tanjore, Kumbakonam and Tinnevely over half the males are literate. The female literacy rate is 21, but in Mangalore, Madras City and Calicut the rate is over 150. (*Census of India, 1921*, XIII, Madras, I, 117, 118.)

³ The number of literates per 1,000, in 1921 was as follows: Travancore 279, Cochin 214, Baroda 147, Bengal 104, Madras 98, Bombay 95, Mysore 84, Assam 72, Bihar 51, C.P. 49, Punjab 45, and U.P. 42. (*Census of 1921*, p. 187.)

⁴ The effects of social position can be seen clearly from the ranges in the number of literate men per 1,000 between the least and most educated of the principal castes: Bengal 8 to 714, Bombay 4 to 652, Madras 8 to 608, U.P. 2 to 523.

religions whose adherents are found in large numbers in the villages of India rank in literacy as follows: Buddhists (in Burma), Indian Christians, Sikhs, Hindus, Moslems and lastly Animists.

A large proportion of those who have once been literate have lapsed into illiteracy. According to the Educational Commissioner for India, 39 per cent. of the children educated in India relapse into illiteracy within five years of their leaving school.¹ On account of the routine way in which most village occupations are carried on, little literacy is demanded, a fact which lessens the motive for acquiring the ability to read and write. Moreover, the vernacular alphabets with their hundreds of sound combinations, are extremely difficult to learn and remember.

Few books are found in the ordinary village, except in the houses of priests, astrologers, lawyers and village officials. The Christians may have a Scripture portion or a book of lyrics. The Indian State of Baroda, Bombay and the Central Provinces in British India are taking steps to encourage village libraries.² The circulation of journals and magazines in the villages is mostly of recent origin and still on a small scale.³ Counting in the towns, India has only twelve newspapers and periodicals per million of

¹ *Education in India, 1912-17*, I, 121. "In most cases the children become completely illiterate within ten years of leaving school. It has been calculated that this applies to about 80 per cent. of all village school children in South India." (*Times Educational Supplement*, London, March 14, 1918.)

² Baroda, in 1919, had 42 town and 496 village libraries receiving grants-in-aid, and also well organized travelling libraries that were used in 159 centres. (*Baroda Library Movement*, p. 76.) The Government of Bombay is proposing to encourage, by means of special grants, the production of suitable readable material in the vernaculars for those who have left school, and to promote and assist the opening of village libraries. (*Public Instruction in Bombay, 1921*, p. 16.) In the Central Provinces, circulating libraries are said to be gaining in popularity. The books and magazines, which are supplied by local bodies or subscription, are circulated from large vernacular schools to the surrounding schools.

³ The United Provinces Government subsidizes a journal dealing in simple style with topics of interest to villagers.

population, compared with Japan's 50, the United Kingdom's 190, and the United States' 225.¹

The main efforts toward adult education in the village have been made through night schools, which have been tried throughout India. They have done something to maintain and increase the amount of literacy, but they have proved successful only where enthusiasm and hard work have been put into them. They have produced less results among cultivators than among those who have more occasion to use the ability to read and write, such as messengers, policemen, domestic servants and traders. They are usually taught by the day teacher, who may receive an extra grant on account of them.

Almost nothing has been done for the education of the village women, nor can much be done for most of them under present social conditions, except at very great expense.

Some of the most important goals are as follows: the ability to read and write among all voters; a group of strong persons in every village, who can read and write and use this ability as a means for leading the whole village to better and more effective living; maintenance of literacy among all who have once become able to read and write; availability of useful and enjoyable printed material for all village literates; and opportunities for further education for those who specially want them and can profit by them. Since these goals are not immediately obtainable, the following next steps are suggested:

1. *Take special notice of the adults who are literate* by giving them little distinctions and privileges, and encourage them to write business and personal letters, business papers and requests for information.

2. *Increase the amount of appealing reading material in the village* so as to intensify the motives of acquiring and retaining the ability to read. These ways are

¹ Visvesvaraya, *Reconstructing India*, p. 23. The circulation of purely agricultural journals in the United States is over 15 million. (*Country Community Education*.)

specially useful: (a) Post simple signs, notices, mottoes, and the names of householders around the village, which will accustom the people to seeing written language and arouse their curiosity. The school children can be taught to do much of this posting. (b) Start a very simple mimeographed (or printed) vernacular news sheet for areas where the number of literates is considerable. This would include stories, news and information on health, citizenship, cultivation, cattle-raising and the life of the outside world. It could be managed by the supervisor or some one at the training school, and receive contributions from the literate adults, children and teachers of the area. (c) Have the supervisor keep in circulation books and bulletins for the literate villages, taking them on all his visits. (d) Let governmental, national and missionary agencies produce a large supply of good but simple and cheap booklets in the vernaculars. (e) Start libraries in the larger villages, some of the books and pamphlets staying in the same places, and others being regularly circulated from outside sources.¹ Provided there is no better place, such libraries might be located in the school or under the charge of the teacher.

3. *Arrange lessons for the older boys and adults*, at night or other possible times, in order to maintain and increase literacy. This work might well be done by the co-operative society, with perhaps a grant from outside sources. If no one else is available for giving the instruction, the day school teacher could be employed, provided that he did not carry over five hours' work in the day school. In any case, the school supervisor should guide the man in charge

¹ The printed material most needed concerns agriculture, village industries, co-operative credit, religion, and includes interesting stories.

The Chinese Ministry of Education reports 497 public libraries and 2,341 public newspaper reading rooms. (C. H. Chuang, *Tendencies Toward a Democratic System of Education in China*, p. 53.)

as to the best methods to use with adults, so that their progress may be very rapid.¹

¹ One who used a modern method of reading in India wrote as follows : " When I had my night school a year ago, the groups would attend, and in twenty days regular attendants have been able to begin on the B Class reader prescribed by Government for vernacular schools, " which is ordinarily not reached by children until after a year's work. (Miss Potinger, Methodist Episcopal Mission, Ghaziabad.)

In the State of South Carolina adult illiterates have been taught to read and write English inside of one month (M. McLees, " Education of Adult Illiterates, " *Journal of Rural Education*, October-November, 1922, pp. 73-78.)

India needs the enthusiastic and well organized work for mass education that is spreading through China. (See D. F. McClelland, " Mass Education Movement in China, " *Young Men of India*, May, 1924.)

CHAPTER IX

PLACE OF WOMEN TEACHERS

INDIAN villages cannot be well educated until many more women than at present are willing and able to teach. The girls' schools and the youngest children in co-educational schools have only a small fraction of the women teachers that they should have.¹ Christian women form a very large share of the women teachers in all girls' schools, because they are freer from social restrictions than the Hindus or Moslems, and are not secluded from the public.² Orthodox Hindus arrange for the marriage of their daughters before puberty. Also, on account of social obstacles and dangers, it is practically impossible for women to teach in the villages, unless they are accompanied by their husbands or adult relatives.³

Sometimes both a man and his wife teach in the same village school. This has worked well in many places, though some Christian missions discourage the practice. In the case of publicly managed schools and some others, the teacher may teach the boys and his wife the girls.

¹ "When there are less than 500 girls who even reach the top classes of the high school, and less than 50 who even attain to the intermediate stage in a year, what prospect can there be of supplying teachers for 2,200,000?" asked the *Calcutta University Commission Report*, II, 9, about conditions in Bengal.

² See *Education in India, 1912-17*, I, 182.

³ "Peculiar difficulties and dangers surround the young women who in loneliness set out to teach in a *mutfussal* school. Such women, however innocent and careful, are the victims of the vilest intrigues and accusations. The fact has to be faced that, until men learn the rudiments of respect and chivalry towards women who are not living in *zenanas*, anything like a service of women teachers will be impossible." (Testimony in *Calcutta University Commission Report*, II, 9.)

Various measures have been tried to make conditions more satisfactory for married teachers.¹

The number of trained women teachers in all India is extremely low, especially on the higher levels. In fact, few women and girls have enough schooling to undertake training. The number of women in training throughout India, in 1923, was only 4,313. The training schools are largely aided institutions, most of them being maintained by Christian missions.²

Except in Madras, the desire of women to enter teaching work and to undergo training is far from keen, since teaching is commonly considered socially degrading,³ and since training is thought less honourable than the same amount of academic work. Homes for Hindu widows have been established in Madras, Bombay and Bengal to encourage teacher training among those who have been cut off forever from motherhood. As with other women, it is well-nigh impossible for them to live apart from their near relatives.

The courses for women in the training institutions approximate those for men, except that the curriculum includes needlework, domestic economy and similar courses. In the United Provinces more emphasis is placed on practice teaching in the women's than in the men's training schools.

Because of the dearth of women teachers, they can often command a less inadequate salary than men with the same qualifications.

The following are highly desirable goals: meeting fully the needs of the youngest children, the girls, and the women of the village; the training of the wife of the village teacher to meet intelligently the needs of her sisters in the village; giving all women teachers the knowledge and training that they need to educate young children better. Next steps are suggested as follows:

1. *Increase the supply of women teachers* by: laying the opportunities of teaching as a profession before school

¹ For example, the children of poorly paid women teachers have been exempted from the payment of fees in the Bombay Presidency.

² Of the 4,313 Indian women in training colleges and schools in 1923, 44.4 per cent. were Indian Christians, although Indian Christians form 1.5 per cent. of the population.

³ *Census of India, 1921*, p. 180.

girls who have the requisite qualifications ; further encouraging Hindu widows to take up teaching as a life work ;¹ limiting women's training courses to one year in most institutions, wherever the present scanty supply cannot be largely augmented in other ways ;² training and employing on salary the wives of village teachers,³ in so far as the right conditions of service can be secured, including the following points : safeguards for their family interests (with an allowance to engage an attendant for their children during school hours) and measures to prevent excess strain on the health of the women and improvement of women's salaries where they are inadequate.

2. *Better prepare women teachers* for those phases of teaching which differ from men's work, especially showing them (during periods when men in training would be studying the improvement of farming and the organization of village life) : the possibilities of improving home conditions, the essentials of cleanliness and good health, what can be done for the village women and girls, and how to lead village women to adopt for themselves the fundamentals of improvement in domestic economy and needlework. Christian missions will be rendering a great service by unifying and strengthening their excellent work for the preparation of women teachers.⁴ Wives and husbands can often both receive training at the same time.

¹ This is highly recommended in the *Calcutta University Commission Report*, II, 10.

² "In order to increase the supply of existing teachers, longer courses should be reduced to one year. It seems clear that under present conditions, having regard particularly to the short period of service rendered by many of the girls after training, we simply cannot afford the longer period of training in the first instance." (*Village Education in India*, p. 99.)

³ "Married women appear to command more respect and carry more weight than widows in village schools." (Miss Corkery quoted in *Education in Bombay*, 1920, p. 27.)

⁴ "In training women teachers the Christian community is in a position to do a superlative service to India, and the small efforts made at present should be united in a series of very well equipped women's training schools in each language area. The value of women so trained for non-Christian as well as Christian schools cannot be over-estimated." (*Village Education in India*, p. 97.) At Medak, in Hyderabad, the wives of village teachers are trained in midwifery.



DRAWING WATER AS IN DAYS OF OLD

Village women need interests that will brighten and broaden their heavy domestic routine.



A CLASS OF TEACHERS' WIVES

H R Fenger

While village teachers are being trained, their wives often learn stimulating ideas and useful handicrafts.

3. *Place women where they can make their largest educational contribution.* If both a man and a woman teacher are available, the woman had far better take the lowest one or two classes and be responsible for results there, while the man teaches the rest of the school. Again, it is more desirable to have a single strong school for primary boys and girls with two teachers, than to have two separate schools for boys and girls, both of which are small and weakly.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I. TABLES

A. FIGURES FOR RECOGNIZED EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN BRITISH INDIA, 1923

TABLE I
INSTITUTIONS FOR BOYS¹

| | NUMBER OF INSTITUTIONS | NUMBER OF PUPILS | PERCENTAGE OF MALE POPULATION (127 MILLIONS) |
|----------------------------|------------------------|------------------|--|
| Primary Schools | 139,095 | 5,812,306 | 4.58 |
| Middle and High Schools .. | 8,190 | 1,224,173 | .96 |
| Colleges | 212 | 64,888 | .05 |
| Special Schools | 5,447 | 171,319 | .13 |
| Total .. | 152,944 | 7,272,686 | 5.73 ² |

TABLE II
INSTITUTIONS FOR GIRLS

| | NUMBER OF INSTITUTIONS | NUMBER OF PUPILS | PERCENTAGE OF FEMALE POPULATION (120 MILLIONS) |
|----------------------------|------------------------|------------------|--|
| Primary Schools | 22,920 | 787,810 | .66 |
| Middle and High Schools .. | 854 | 107,232 | .09 |
| Colleges | 21 | 1,248 | .001 |
| Special Schools | 273 | 9,999 | .01 |
| Total .. | 24,068 | 906,289 | .76 ³ |

¹ Half a million girls study in these schools, and some boys study in schools for girls.

² The figure is 5.36 per cent., excluding girls.

³ The figure is 1.21 per cent., including girls in boys' schools.

TABLE III
EXPENDITURE FOR DIFFERENT STAGES

| | EXPENDITURE (LAKHS OF RUPEES) | PERCENTAGE OF EXPENDI- TURE FOR EACH STAGE | PERCENTAGE OF PUPILS IN EACH STAGE |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---|--|
| Primary Schools | 537 | 28.2 | 80.7 |
| Middle and High Schools .. | 519 | 27.3 | 16.3 |
| Colleges and Universities .. | 223 | 11.7 | 0.8 |
| Special Schools | 147 | 7.7 | 2.2 |
| Direction and Inspection .. | 93 | 4.9 | .. |
| Buildings and Miscellaneous | 384 | 20.2 | .. |
| Total .. | 1,903 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

TABLE IV
DIRECT EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION¹

| | EXPENDI- TURE PER INSTITUTION (RUPEES) | EXPENDI- TURE PER PUPIL (RUPEES) | EXPENDI- TURE PER TEACHER (RUPEES) |
|------------------------------|---|---|---|
| Primary Schools | 331 | 8 | 225 |
| Middle and High Schools .. | 5,744 | 39 | 1,842 |
| Colleges and Universities .. | 89,964 | 337 | 5,070 |
| Special Schools | 2,563 | 81 | .. |
| Average .. | 806 | 17 | .. |

¹ Excluding expenditure for direction, inspection, buildings and miscellaneous.

TABLE V

PERCENTAGE OF PUPILS IN THE LOWEST CLASSES OF BOYS' SCHOOLS,
ACCORDING TO RACE OR CREED

| | CLASS I | CLASS II | CLASS III | ALL OTHER CLASSES |
|-----------------------------------|---------|----------|-----------|-------------------------|
| Parsees | 14 | 9 | 8 | 69 |
| Europeans and Anglo-Indians | 24 | 12 | 12 | 52 |
| Sikhs | 37 | 15 | 12 | 36 |
| Indian Christians | 44 | 16 | 12 | 28 |
| Caste Hindus | 45 | 16 | 12 | 27 |
| Moslems | 55 | 17 | 12 | 26 |
| Depressed Classes | 60 | 17 | 12 | 22 |
| Average | 45 | 17 | 12 | 26 |

TABLE VI

PERCENTAGE OF PUPILS IN THE LOWEST CLASSES OF GIRLS'
SCHOOLS, ACCORDING TO RACE OR CREED

| | CLASS I | CLASS II | CLASS III | ALL OTHER CLASSES |
|-----------------------------------|---------|----------|-----------|-------------------------|
| Parsees | 23 | 15 | 15 | 47 |
| Europeans and Anglo-Indians | 34 | 12 | 10 | 44 |
| Indian Christians | 39 | 16 | 11 | 34 |
| Sikhs | 53 | 17 | 12 | 18 |
| Caste Hindus | 60 | 17 | 11 | 12 |
| Depressed Classes | 64 | 18 | 9 | 9 |
| Moslems | 69 | 18 | 9 | 4 |
| Average | 60 | 18 | 10 | 12 |

TABLE VII

THOUSANDS OF CHILDREN OF CERTAIN AGE GROUPS WHO ARE IN SCHOOL AND WHO ARE OUT OF SCHOOL¹

| AGE GROUP | IN SCHOOL | OUT OF SCHOOL | TOTAL |
|-----------|-----------|---------------|--------|
| 5—10 .. | 4,749 | 42,525 | 47,274 |
| 10—15 .. | 2,186 | 34,982 | 37,168 |
| Total | 6,935 | 77,507 | 84,442 |

TABLE VIII

PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN OF CERTAIN AGE GROUPS WHO ARE IN SCHOOL AND WHO ARE OUT OF SCHOOL

| AGE GROUP | IN SCHOOL | OUT OF SCHOOL | TOTAL |
|-----------|-----------|---------------|-------|
| 5—10 .. | 10·05 | 89·95 | 100·0 |
| 10—15 .. | 5·88 | 94·12 | 100·0 |
| 5—15 .. | 8·21 | 92·79 | 100·0 |

B. COMPARISONS OF INDIA WITH OTHER COUNTRIES

TABLE IX

AMOUNT OF VARIOUS ITEMS FOR EVERY 100 PEOPLE

| | INDIA | UNITED STATES | WORLD |
|--------------------------------------|-------|---------------|-------|
| Population | 100·0 | 100·0 | 100·0 |
| Pupils | 2·8 | 19·8 | 11·3 |
| Teachers | 0·1 | 0·6 | 0·3 |
| Land Area (square miles) | 0·6 | 3·4 | 2·9 |
| Cotton (bales) | 1·5 | 9·6 | 1·1 |
| Wheat (bushels) | 58·0 | 753·7 | 211·7 |
| Coal (metric tons) | 5·9 | 549·5 | 75·7 |
| Petroleum (barrels) | 92·2 | 692·2 | 57·6 |
| Railways (miles) | 0·1 | 0·24 | 0·04 |
| Telegraph and Telephone Wire (miles) | 0·03 | 37·0 | 3·8 |

¹ The numbers of children in school are found from *Education in India, 1917-22*, I, p. 65, and the total numbers of children are found from *1921 Census*, I, Part I, p. 128.

TABLE X

SHARE OF INDIA IN WORLD TOTALS FOR VARIOUS ITEMS

| | PERCENTAGE OF WORLD TOTALS BE- LONGING TO EACH COUNTRY | | TOTALS FOR WORLD | |
|--------------------------------------|---|-------------------------------|------------------|--------------|
| | INDIA | UNITED STATES ¹ | | |
| | Per Cent. | Per Cent. | | |
| Population .. | 18·0 | 6·2 | 1,768 Million | Persons |
| Pupils .. | 4·4 | 10·5 | 200 „ | Pupils |
| Teachers .. | 6·5 | 13·1 | 5 „ | Teachers |
| Land Area .. | 3·5 | 7·0 | 52 „ | Square Miles |
| Cotton .. | 26·0 | 52·0 | 19·5 „ | Bales |
| Wheat .. | 5·2 | 21·3 | 3,743 „ | Bushels |
| Coal .. | 1·5 | 43·5 | 1,337 „ | Metric Tons |
| Petroleum .. | 0·9 | 71·9 | 1,019 „ | Barrels |
| Railways .. | 5·1 | 33·9 | 0·7 „ | Miles |
| Telegraph and Tele- phone Wire .. | 0·6 | 57·8 | 68 „ | Miles |

TABLE XI

PERCENTAGE OF ACTUAL WORKERS IN VARIOUS OCCUPATIONS
TO TOTAL POPULATION²

| | INDIA | FRANCE | UNITED STATES | ENGLAND AND WALES |
|-----------------|-------|--------|------------------|----------------------|
| Agricultural .. | 33·2 | 21·5 | 11·9 | 3·3 |
| Industrial .. | 5·0 | 18·9 | 10·2 | 25·0 |
| Commercial .. | 3·2 | 5·4 | 7·2 | 5·8 |
| Domestic .. | 0·8 | 2·3 | 5·1 | 5·6 |
| Professional .. | 0·7 | 3·1 | 1·7 | 1·9 |

¹ Including Alaska but not insular possessions. Figures for the World and the United States are taken from *Manufacturers' Record* and *Proceedings National Education Association, 1924*.

² See *Census of India, 1921*, I, Part I, p. 279, and *Encyclopædia Britannica, 1922*, XXXI, p. 110, XXXII, pp. 842, 855. The agricultural figure for England includes fishers.

APPENDIX II. BIBLIOGRAPHY

SOME of the books consulted in this study are here given in two lists : A. INDIAN VILLAGE LIFE AND EDUCATION—1. General Sources ; 2. Government Publications ; 3. Reference Works, Series and Periodicals ; and B. PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION IN OTHER COUNTRIES—1. General Sources ; 2. Reference Works, Reports and Periodicals. The books that seem to the writer to be specially helpful or stimulating to those interested in village education are marked as follows : * before those that are rather introductory or easily understood ; † before those that are more complete or advanced.

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APPENDIX III

ANALYSIS OF CONSTRUCTIVE SUGGESTIONS

*A. Wise Use and Increase of Educational Funds.—
B. School Reform and Expansion.—C. A Well Qualified
Progressive Teaching Force.—D. All-round Personal
Development.—E Training in Particular Attainments.—
F. Very Urgent Steps.—G. Summary of Guiding Principles.*

A. WISE USE AND INCREASE OF EDUCATIONAL FUNDS

1. *Concentration of resources and energy* so as to make for thoroughness, by the following means: Consolidate small primary schools that are within a half mile of each other (84: 1; 105: 1)¹ including those for boys and girls (199: 3). The classes of the primary school, except the lowest, may sometimes be combined into sections or groups for most of the instruction, and the subject matter alternated from year to year (129: 1).

Give thorough drill in the essential subject matter of the basic processes. To do this it is necessary to investigate in what particulars the material to be learned can be limited, so as to omit everything that will not be serviceable to the children (119: 5; 120: 7; 122: 2b).

Where the school facilities and teaching force cannot be increased, give education first to those children who will profit most (94: 1); for example, children under five can well be debarred from attending school unless special provision is made for their needs (94: 2); those who are in bad health, and who stand no reasonable chance of becoming healthy, may also be excluded if they are a danger to the

¹ Each reference gives in parentheses the number of page and the paragraph number.

health of others. Oral expression and handwork may be emphasized on the part of children who have shown, without any reasonable doubt, that they cannot learn to read and write (119: 6).

Concentrate the efforts of a supervisor, during the first year after his appointment, on an area small enough to secure demonstrable results that will furnish an example to adjacent areas (184: 3c). A good number of schools would be from fifteen to twenty; during the next year a few more schools would receive special attention.

Combine small, poorly staffed training schools and classes, and use the money saved from smaller overhead and maintenance expenses for a smaller number of institutions with better qualified and paid staffs and more adequate buildings and equipment (141: 2; 156: 1). After such a combination, the classes would preferably have about thirty students.

2. *Continuity in education policy and work.* Carefully work out long-term programmes of primary school expansion (84: 2). Encourage public bodies specially for educational functions, in which only part of the membership changes at the same time; for example, district educational councils or boards (85: 3), and teachers' associations (184: 3e). Maintain strong institutional traditions (138: 2). Carry through educational processes to their logical conclusions, especially by maintaining literacy in all who have acquired it (105: 1; 193: 1-2; 194: 3) and confirm and foster in teachers the progressive principles and practice learned during training. This can be done either by specially qualified supervisors (183: 2; 184: 3) or by the training school (183: 1.) Endowments also help to maintain steady support and policy (107: 7; 156: 4).

3. *Co-ordination of educational endeavour.* Depute a special officer in each province to co-ordinate the agencies for primary education in that province (85: 4). Continue to link publicly managed with privately managed schools by means of the grant-in-aid system (106: 2). Spread among those engaged in village education an understanding of the work of others; for example, assemble all the village teachers at a demonstration school several times a year

for observation of what is being done in the school, and discussing common problems (185: 3g). Foster the continued development of teachers' organizations (184: 3e). Show village teachers how they can secure the facts needed to improve their work (183: 1). Give widespread circulation in educational magazines and reports to accounts of fruitful educational experiments (153: 2).¹ Link together teacher-training work through: the deputation of an expert to visit all the training schools of a province once in every two or three years (153: 3); the exchange among all provinces of useful information regarding the training of teachers (156: 2); the placing of the headmaster of the demonstration school on the staff of the training school (152: 2).

4. *Stimulation of popular respect and backing for village and normal education.* Bring the primary school closer to the actual needs and life of the village (107: 5). Give broad publicity to the usefulness of the village school and to the handicaps under which the village teacher is working (107: 5; 180: 4). Give the villagers and other Indians more share in the direction of primary education (85: 3). Show the public the need for training institutions by means of newspaper articles, demonstrations and exhibits (153: 2).

5. *Increased financial support of primary education.* Provide more support from the district and smaller areas, without diminishing the money that is now spent from provincial revenues (106: 3). Enlist private resources in the cause of education as at present by means of grants (106: 2), and improve the grant system so as to encourage further the highest type of teaching. Temporarily supplement the funds for the support of the village school, by arranging that the poorer villagers shall give their contributions of labour and money, until people are willing to levy a land cess on themselves (106: 3).

¹ An example of a very valuable kind of description of promising education work is given by D. J. Fleming in *Schools with a Message in India*.

B. SCHOOL REFORM AND EXPANSION

1. *Investigation and experiment in education.* Make a few intensive investigations and carefully planned experiments in India with many collaborators, into the following problems: the minimum essentials in the primary school, the courses and methods of instruction which are best adapted to Indian children (122: 2; 127: 6); the standardization of a few educational tests, for each language area or for India (127: 6); the possibilities of part-time schools under expert teachers (95: 8); and the organization of training school staffs that will most effectively turn out successful teachers (145: 4). Render available for all educators the results of investigations and experiments (153: 2), and establish one or more strong demonstration schools in every district in India (85: 5; 184: 3f).

2. *Fostering of an increased enrolment and attendance.* Set up long-term programmes for increasing the number of primary schools (84: 2). Special emphasis is to be placed on expanding the publicly managed schools as rapidly as can be done, and at the same time maintaining a higher standard than in the past (107: 6). Compulsion is to be extended to rural areas wherever there are sufficient funds, teachers, and facilities (94: 4).

Use all available means to increase the enrolment and regularity of attendance of all the children on the rolls (95: 5), especially of girls and of members of the depressed classes (95: 6).

Adapt the schools to the economic life of the village, by arranging vacations at the time when the parents use the labour of their children, whether the school is in session or not (96: 9), and experimenting with part-time schools under expert teachers (95: 8).

3. *Progress and continuance of children in school.* These can be furthered by making it directly incumbent on the teacher or headmaster to see that the retardation of the children is lessened (101: 1), and assigning the best teacher to the lowest class (101: 2), if possible a woman teacher (199: 3); by making five or six years the standard length of time for the primary course in all public schools and

repeatedly showing the benefits of continuing for this time (101: 3), and by removing the present obstacles hindering children from passing from the vernacular elementary school to the English secondary school (81: 4).

4. *Better adapted village school buildings and equipment*, including: assistance in the erection of healthful but inexpensive buildings by continued and increased provincial grants (87: 1); acquisition or purchase of two acres of land for the larger village schools for exercise and gardening (88: 4); better equipment of primary activities that serve to educate the children (87: 3); larger use of the primary school buildings for community purposes, provided that they do not interfere with the children's schooling (87: 2).

C. A WELL QUALIFIED, PROGRESSIVE TEACHING FORCE

1. *Securing and carefully selecting persons for training*. Require all candidates for training schools and classes to have completed the vernacular middle examination, except in a few localities as a matter of temporary expediency, on account of the lack of trained teachers in the locality (137: 1). Stress trustworthiness, initiative, and readiness to co-operate in selecting future teachers (148: 2). Eliminate as soon as possible any persons who are patently unsuited for teaching work (148: 3). Offer larger facilities for training through larger training institutions (141: 2), and more of them where necessary (141: 3), to be located where they will be accessible to the villages (150: 2). Increase the qualifications usually required for membership on training school staffs, so that they are much higher than those of their students (144: 1). Staff the demonstration school ably (161: 8). Have some one in the training school use the following means to increase the number of women teachers (197: 1): presenting to girls in middle and high schools the great possibilities of teaching; enlisting more Hindu widows in educational work, and training and employing the wives of village teachers under proper safeguards.

2. *Careful preparation for particular educational tasks*. Two years of training for men village teachers is

proposed, or, under very special conditions where this is not at all feasible, one year of training coupled with a postponed year of training (138: 2). Considering the present lack of women teachers, one year of training seems all that is feasible in many places (197: 1). Christian missions should further strengthen their work (198: 2). The adequacy of teacher preparation is largely dependent on well adapted buildings and equipment (156: 1), and on good libraries (156: 3). Training is to be given in the methods of teaching and management useful in the village schools (101: 2; 129: 2; 160: 3d). Women in training are to be prepared for work for women and girls, including domestic economy and needlework (198: 2). Short courses during the vacations (183: 1), teachers' institutes for village teachers (185: 3g-h), and short courses for supervisors (185: 3i) are useful.

3. *Improvement of status and salary.* Introduce a graded system of licences and certificates applying to all teachers in the public educational system (178: 1-2). The certificates would be granted by the provincial departments and would entitle the holders to increased salaries and some provision for their old age (180: 3e). Increase the salaries of training school staffs to a considerable extent (144: 1).

4. *Improvement of the teacher's outlook and methods* by centring his attention on the children rather than on himself, and stimulating respect for their personalities (127: 2; 166: 2). In order to develop this attitude in the teacher, it is necessary to protect the interests of children in the demonstration school by providing that a considerable amount of their teaching be done by experienced teachers, and that they are taught connectedly (160: 3c; 162: 9). He needs also to be shown how to deal with issues and interests that are important to the children (101: 2; 126: 1; 127: 2-3), how to overcome the defects in the teaching of reading (164: 3), and the way to study and teach his pupils to study (127: 3). Some simple principles of teaching and management may be presented near the end of the training course (168: 4), and the best methods of instruction exemplified by the teaching done in the training school (173: 1). If the number of classes is too great for one teacher, the work can be simplified by enabling him to divide the

primary school into sections instead of classes (129: 1). He also needs help in working out useful daily programmes and profitable seat work (129: 2).

5. *Thorough supervision* by means of:

Appointing a supervisor of high qualifications for every twenty to thirty village schools, wherever the step can be taken (183: 2), who would guide the teachers in their professional work toward a few definite objectives at a time (184: 3b), and not merely point out faults (184: 3a). The money required would give good returns (185: 3j).

Using the training school staff to supervise the practice work in the model school (161: 5), the final authority resting with the headmaster of the model school (160: 4). The supervision would include individual conferences (161: 7a) and criticism of the students' lesson plans (161: 6).

Having the training schools keep in close touch with their alumni and what they are doing and to do other necessary supervisory work for them that is not otherwise performed (183: 1). In those places where it is possible, it is well to place new teachers in schools where they can benefit by the guidance of experienced masters.

D. ALL-ROUND PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT

1. *Broadening of the horizon*, by encouraging the pupils to observe and understand their natural environment (114: 3; 120: 9) through observation, excursions and work in the school garden and the occupations of people (120: 8), and also to read good books and report on them (114: 4; 193: 2). Similar activities are also much needed among the training students, including a broad range of general reading (156: 3; 163: 2), excursions (169: 8) and the study of geography (164: 6), and of nature (165: 7).

2. *Promotion of social co-operation and the spirit of fellowship* by building up a common life with many shared purposes both in the primary school (113: 1), and in the training school (150: 2; 151: 3-4). Two of the useful means to this end are general exercises (123: 5a; 168: 6) and athletic contests (115: 5; 168: 7). The spirit of helpfulness thus developed needs to be expanded to wider

groups outside the school (111:3; 113:1b). This involves arranging for the service of others (150:2), teaching the primary pupils their rights and duties (113:1c), and fostering a sense of national unity (113:2; 165:6).

3. *Encouragement of aesthetic appreciation and enjoyment* by emphasizing: Indian songs and other music (113:2; 165:9), dramatics (114:4c), and appreciation of the loveliness and grandeur of nature (114:4; 165:7), and drawing for the sake of expressing ideas, and beauty (121:10; 165:7).

4. *Furnishing of stronger incentives to press forward* by means of: teaching based upon the children's vital interests and problems (110:2; 126:1; 127:3); graphic records of pupil achievement (102:4); more opportunities for promotion (102:4); scholarships for excellent primary work (95:5); and a richer supply of attractive and useful reading material for the villagers (193:2). Among teachers, incentives toward progress can be encouraged by vigorous *esprit de corps* and various contests of skill among the students of the training school (151:3; 168:6; 169:7); by a graded certification system (178:2), and by stimulating guidance for teachers (122:1; 129:2).

5. *Promotion of health*, by: inculcating good health habits in the primary children (110:1b; 115:5), especially among the girls; showing the children how to play a variety of simple games and to go through physical drills (115:5); starting crèches for the youngest boys and girls at school, if the necessary arrangements can be made (101:1); giving the teachers in training an understanding of personal and school hygiene (164:5); and providing frequent work in supervised games and physical education, including practice in conducting games in the model school (169:7).

E. TRAINING IN PARTICULAR ATTAINMENTS

1. *Learning by systematic practice*. Primary pupils would be given exercise in oral expression, reading, writing, and arithmetic (110:1c; 118:1; 119:2-6; 120:7). The training school students would have at least seventy hours a year of well supervised practice teaching (160:3b).

Near the middle of the course, the students would have experience in teaching two classes of a rural school. Much of the practice would be given in demonstration schools connected with the training school, but some also in other schools (161 : 8 ; 162 : 10).

2. *Extending the range of reading.* Teach village children to read the kind of letters, village documents, and booklets that will prove helpful to them (119 : 3). Place signs and other brief reading material around the village (193 : 2a). Organize village libraries (194 : 2e). The supervisor should take books with him on his visits and help to keep them in circulation among the teachers (184 : 3d) and the literate villagers (194 : 2c). Some one at the training school prepare mimeographed news sheets in the vernacular (194 : 2b), and produce a larger supply of well written but simple, cheap books and booklets in the vernacular (173 : 2 ; 194 : 2d), including textbooks for the schools (119 : 2) and publications for the use of teachers (183 : 1). More good books are needed in the training school libraries (156 : 3).

3. *Improving oral and written communication* by encouraging the village children to express themselves frequently in speech (118 : 1) and to tell proverbs and folk-tales that they have learned from their elders (114 : 4d), and by teaching the primary children to write personal and business letters with correct spelling (119 : 4-5).

4. *Adapting the curricula to village conditions*, as follows: Have the primary children learn habits, abilities and outlooks on life that will be of benefit to them in later life, but not to give them vocational training in any strict sense (120 : 8). Inculcate in them thrift and knowledge of the village map and land records (121 : 11). Encourage the children to engage in such activities at home as will be valuable educationally, linked with the school lessons, and supervised by the teacher (110 : 2). Establish strong rural community middle schools at central points in the rural areas (81 : 2). Allow progressive training institutions more freedom to adapt their courses to the special needs of the locality (153 : 1).

5. *Raising the level of village life*, by having the children give demonstrations and dramas, dealing with health

and other topics, before their parents (189: 8a). The teacher's main task is educating the children, but in most villages the conditions outside of school counteract what is done in school; for this reason it is often necessary for the teacher to devote time to adults, which under more favourable circumstances should be used for teaching the children (187: 1). The teacher needs training for this community work (167: 3), and his wife for work with the women and girls of the village in their homes (189: 8c-d).

The teacher may well arrange lectures and demonstrations in the village with the co-operation of outside agencies on problems of community welfare (189: 9), including co-operative societies (188: 5), health and better houses (189: 8), agriculture (188: 6) and cottage industries (188: 7). Literacy may be maintained among those who have acquired it, by encouraging letter-writing (193: 1) and further study (194: 3). The supervisor would aid the teacher in use of the best methods.

F. VERY URGENT STEPS

Among the multitude of suggestions that have been offered in the preceding chapters, certain seem to be of special urgency to modern India. First are listed those in which real progress can be made without any large increase of funds: combination of village schools and of small training schools; conferences and institutes for the pooling of experience among the various people engaged in village education; assiduous attention to the progress of children in the two lowest classes.

Here follow measures of pressing importance which require, and fully deserve, increased expenditure: adoption of long-term programmes for the improvement and extension of primary education, including a graded system of certification and salary increase for all teachers, and provision for scientific research; progressive, professional training of teachers, training school staffs and all working for village education; skilled guidance for teachers in their school and community work; increased support and direction of primary education by the people of each district

or part of a district ; location at central points of effective demonstration schools, of primary and middle grade, that will be closely related to village life.

G. SUMMARY OF GUIDING PRINCIPLES

Education, always a process calling for hard, sustained effort, is confronted by specially formidable obstacles in small villages, and nowhere more so than in India. This book has sought to co-ordinate the main facts and experience pertinent to this difficult process, and to present specific suggestions regarding the next steps that seem desirable in the light of modern educational thought and practice. Lest in the mass of details the more essential principles should fail to receive due emphasis, some of them are here presented. They sum up the spirit of the suggestions in the preceding pages.

1. *The village child stands at the centre of India's life*, and on his improvement depends all lasting progress. The country's problems during the present transitional stage can be satisfactorily solved, only if the village child is accorded the respect, growth and education which are his due. To develop his potentialities and make them socially fruitful are the main concerns of democratic education. A school system becomes dangerous when examinations, reports or buildings loom larger than the welfare of the child.

2. In order that the Indian child may develop normally amid wholesome surroundings, improvement is needed not only in his schooling but also in the economic, hygienic and social phases of village life. Lovers of India should accordingly *strive to make all branches of rural welfare advance simultaneously*. This can best be done through cordial co-operation among the villagers themselves.

3. Inasmuch as the village schoolmasters are the key to bettering the rural situation, such *teachers are to be adequately selected, prepared and guided*, and to be treated in a spirit of genuine respect for them and their work. The best preparation is closely connected with the actual situations of life ; for teachers, like children, learn to do by doing, rather than by hearing actions theoretically described by others.

4. *Hearty adherence to thorough and genuine work* and a vigorous avoidance of all that is superficial, specious and shoddy, form the foundation of true education. No chain is stronger than its weakest link. If any institution, be it village or training school, fails to elevate and strengthen any side of its students' lives, physical, intellectual or social, its influence will go for little. Learners require practice in giving their best efforts for the welfare of their group, community and country. Although any schooling at all is commonly assumed to be better than none, in reality slovenly or fraudulent work does far more harm than good.

5. *Continuity of policy and effort* is also vital, so that a promising activity can be carried to completion with constantly increasing effectiveness, for lack of continuity spells inefficiency. Steadiness will be facilitated by working for ends that are clearly conceived and solidly based on permanent facts. Money is foolishly wasted where it is spent to inaugurate something that is later allowed to lapse.

6. Accordingly, it is necessary to *concentrate effort and financial resources on work that can actually be done with thoroughness and continuity*. To undertake more work than gives definite promise of being carried to a successful conclusion is a gross blunder. A small amount of genuine progress that forms a solid basis for still further growth is far better than much hollow change that appears well only in printed reports. Resolute concentration on larger and more effective schools for village and normal education, not only makes for higher quality, but saves money through the cutting down of overhead expenditure.

7. Moreover, painstaking, *scientific investigations and experiments* are essential to strengthening all phases of educational effort. Mistakes and defects need to be frankly and fearlessly analyzed before they can be overcome. In order to plan, carry through, and draw sound conclusions from such research, greatly increased co-operation on the part of India's educational leaders is demanded.

8. Equally important is the need for strong *popular backing and direction of education*, such that the people of districts and smaller areas will be willing to vote additional

taxes on themselves to carry out school policies which they have shared in forming.

If the foregoing principles are wisely and earnestly applied, the village schools can fulfil their splendid responsibility of ushering rural children into their heritage and of making them joint creators of a glorious future for India.

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